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J. P. BELL COMPANY, LYNCHBURG, VA.

The
Catholic Historical Review

NEW SERIES, VOLUME VI OCTOBER, 1926 NUMBER 3

PEACE LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS OF MEDIAEVAL FRANCE

THE FRANKISH NATION; RISE OF FEUDALISM

The *Pax Romana* established a period of prosperity that lasted for over two hundred years (31 B. C. to 192 A. D.). Never before or since has so large a part of the world enjoyed a similar respite from war, nor has any period like a portion of those two hundred years, merited to be called the "Golden Age of Humanity."

This prosperous condition however, was not to endure. An era of decline followed this peaceful period, and before long the legions of Rome met defeat before Alaric's Goths and Attila's Huns. The Imperial city itself, the vanquisher and civilizer of so large a part of the world, fell a prey to the barbarians of the North.

Among the invaders of the Roman Empire, the Franks were destined "to become the leading race, and along with the Church, the chief organizing force in Western Europe."[1] Clovis the founder of the greatness of the Franks, became chief of his tribe in 481. Five years later his ambition exhibited itself in an attack on Syagrius, the Roman Governor of Gaul. He gained a decisive victory at Soissons, destroyed forever the Roman authority in Gaul, and established there a Frankish Kingdom. His plundering and subjugating expeditions speedily increased his domains and his wealth. Eventually his little band of Teutons developed into a powerful Frankish nation and dominated the greater part of Gaul.

1 WEST, *Modern World*, p. 53.

The conversion of Clovis and his Franks to the orthodox Catholic faith "secured for them the loyalty of their Roman subjects and also gained for them the official favor of the Church of Rome. Thus was laid the ascendancy in the West of the Frankish kings."[2]

The family of Clovis, known as the Merovingian, from his grandfather, Merovig, kept the throne for over two centuries. The later Merovingian rulers degenerated to such an extent that they merited the name of "Do-nothing-kings." In 752, the last of these, Childeric III was deposed and sent to a monastery by Pippin, the mayor of the palace. Pippin's bold step received the sanction of Pope Zachary, to whom, according to Fulrad, abbot of Saint Denis, an embassy was sent to consult "on the subject of kings then existing among the Franks, and who bore the name of king without enjoying a tittle of royal authority."[3] The Pope's reply that "it was better to give the title of king to him who exercised the sovereign power," warranted the assembly of lords and bishops gathered at Soissons in proclaiming Pippin king of the Franks. A new dynasty thus, known as the Carolingian, from Charlemagne, the illustrious son of Pippin, supplanted the Merovingian.

Charlemagne stands out as the great man of mediaeval times. Bryce says of him, "Charles was many great things in one, and so great just because the workings of his genius were so harmonious."[4] Under him a new empire arose out of a union of the Papacy and the Frankish power, civilization and Christianity spread from the Rhine to the Elbe, and the Saracens fell back to the Ebro. He formed the Germanic peoples, except those in the Scandinavian peninsula and in Briton, into one Christian Roman-Teutonic state.

These numerous peoples were forced to accept Christianity, but their lives were at first little affected by the change of religion, as the prevalence among them of rudeness, cruelty, robbery, and revenge testifies. These tendencies, to some extent at least, Charlemagne held in check by his admirable system

2 MYERS, *Mediaeval and Modern History*, p. 16.
3 GUIZOT, *History of France*, Vol. I., p. 161.
4 BRYCE, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 74.

of government, but his death, in 814, was the signal for confusion and disorder.

Under the weak successors of Charlemagne the sad spectacle of disintegration presented itself. The Empire, one cohesive state under him, now broke up into several independent nations, and a dissolution, no less appalling than the one that overtook the Holy Roman Empire, threatened the newly formed states, where political, social, and judicial bonds were severed. In fact a melancholy period of reaction "toward ignorance and turmoil" followed Charlemagne's masterly effort to establish union and order in Western Europe.

It was in France, however, where the misery attendant upon such a condition was most keenly felt. Here the struggles of the rival claimants for the throne plunged the whole country into a most wretched state, "an effective argument," says Emerton, "for any measure looking towards the abolition of war as a means of settling all disputes."[5] A renewal of barbarian invasions increased the general distress, and the absence of a strong central government rendered the ninth century an age of indescribable horror. "The strong robbed the weak, and brigands swept over the land to kill, torture, and plunder."[6] Toward the end of the tenth century, the confusion degenerated into an anarchy, a condition which always follows the collapse of government.

Out of this anarchic state evolved the feudal organization, a social order resting on force, and suited to crude and barbarous times. It is true, feudalism existed before Charlemagne's time, but it never could have become the political system of Europe had any ruler been able to carry out his policy.

If the state fails to give protection to the individual, he seeks it where he can find it. Thus it happened that "a class of men arose, strong enough from wealth or position, or ambition to give some degree of protection to weaker men."[7] A man of this class fortified his castle, collected around him an armed force, and "found the neighborhood ready to turn to him as its mas-

5 EMERTON, *Mediaeval Europe*, p. 570.
6 WEST, *Modern World*, p. 98.
7 ADAMS, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, p. 196.

ter."[8] Weaker landlords gladly handed over to him their lands to receive them back as fiefs, and thus became his vassals, while he became their lord or suzerain. They fought his battles and he protected them. This soldiery also protected the peasants, who were no longer slain or "driven captive by chance marauders." Their safety being to some extent assured, they ventured to plow and sow, and if danger threatened, the castle palisades afforded them a safe retreat. For this protection "they cultivated the lord's crop, acknowledged him as their landlord, and paid him dues for house, for cattle, and for each sale or inheritance."[9]

"Later the masters of these castles were the terror of the country, but they saved it first. Power always establishes itself through service, and perishes through abuse."[10] The feudal lords in the beginning acknowledged the sovereignty of the king, but later ignored his power, "led a wild quarrelsome life, and supported themselves by the booty of war or by plunder. At that time when absolute force ruled in all directions only a narrow boundary separated the knight from the robber and waylayer."[11]

Toward the end of the tenth century the Carolingian line died out, and Hugh Capet was made king by the great council of nobles. This, however, in no way alleviated the wretched condition of France, but where possible increased it.

Of this feudal age private warfare was the worst evil. It was a privilege the lords guarded jealously and exercised frequently. So prevalent were the feuds that, "War rather than peace was the normal condition of society."[12] With truth it may be said that from the beginning of the tenth century to the end of the twelfth, peace was practically unknown in Western Europe. Only a slight pretext, and sometimes even none was needed to provoke a strife and throw a whole countryside into distress. Wars raged between suzerain and vassal, vassals of the same fief, or neighboring fiefs; members of the same family warred, sons could not wait for a father's death to enjoy lands and rights that were to descend to them, younger brothers re-

8 WEST, *Modern World*, p. 193.
9 *Ibid.*
10 DURUY, *Middle Ages*, p. 201.
11 KLUCKHOHN, *Geschichte des Gottesfriedens*, p. 7.
12 ROBINSON, "Peace Laws and Institutions of the Mediaeval Church," *Ecclesiastical Review*, May, 1915, Vol. LII., No. 5, p. 524.

fused to be satisfied with the inheritance assigned them, nephews quarreled with uncles who prolonged guardianship, and sons, eager to obtain possession of dower lands, took up arms against a widowed mother. "Explosions of covetousness, and odious and inveterate struggles over inheritance tore family ties to pieces."[13]

The abuse of private war went to so great an extent that even associations and domestics sent defiances to each other on the most trivial pretences, and in a manner scarcely to be conceived at the present day.[14] Not only did associations and individuals exercise the privilege of private war, but towns settled grievances against each other in the same atrocious way.

As is always the case in war, the class that has the least to gain suffers the most. So it was in the Middle Ages, when fighting was the normal state of society, the peasantry suffered from the hardships that follow war, neglected farms, famine, sickness, and distress of every kind.

Owing to the complete decentralization of government there was no effective and satisfactory machinery for punishing offenders, administering justice, and settling disputes. The king was often too weak to impose peace in his own domain, and turbulent nobles fought with impunity under his eyes, or in bitter scorn directed their attacks against him. The tenth century was pre-eminently the "dark age." It was what Baronius calls it "saeculum obscurum, a time when Christ was asleep in the ship."

THE PEACE OF GOD

To enlightened minds it was evident, after the chaotic condition of the tenth century, that society could not be based upon war, isolation, and anarchy. The need of peace was all the more urgent since the common people were beginning to secure emancipation, and commerce and industry were making strides in the large towns. The civil power was unable to establish order in this state of unbridled passions and fermenting chaos. The Church alone could bring relief. To quote a brilliant French historian: "In the eleventh century, the only power sufficiently intelligent to conceive this need of peace and sufficiently respect-

13 MONRO AND SELLERY, *Mediaeval Civilization*, p. 177.

14 See article on the "Future of War" by M. MACMILLAN, *Scottish Review*, May, 1915, Part 77, No. 38, pp. 6-24.

ed to take measures to secure it was the Church, represented by its supreme head the Pope, its councils, and its bishops."[15]

The Church, then, "inspired by the spirit of peace and charity" lifted up a protesting voice against the evils arising from the prevalence of private warfare. The measures taken in this direction culminated in two remarkable institutions, called respectively the Peace of God (Pax Dei) and the Truce of God (Treuga Dei). The aim of both was identical—to enforce respect for the public peace, but their origin, character, and demands differed. The Peace of God preceded the Truce of God by about fifty years, and originated in Aquitaine, at a synod held at Charroux in 989. Moved by the wide-spread wretchedness caused by private war, Gunbald, Archbishop of Bordeaux, in the name of the assembled bishops decreed that certain persons and properties were to be held inviolable. Thus were the decrees of the synod expressed:

"Following the example of my predecessor, I, Gunbald, Archbishop of Bordeaux, called together the bishops of my dioceses in a synod at Charroux . . . and we, assembled there in the name of God, made the following decrees:

1. Anathema against those who break into churches. If anyone breaks into or robs a church, he shall be anathema unless he makes satisfaction.

2. Anathema against those who rob the poor. If anyone robs a peasant or any other poor person of a sheep, ox, ass, cow, goat, or pig, he shall be anethema unless he makes satisfaction.

3. Anathema against those who injure clergymen. If anyone attacks, seizes, or beats a priest, deacon, or any other clergyman, who is not bearing arms (shield, sword, coat of mail, or helmet), but is going along peacefully or staying in the house, the sacrilegious person shall be excommunicated and cut off from the church, unless he makes satisfaction, or unless the bishop discovers that the clergyman brought it upon himself by his own fault."[16]

15 LUCHAIRE, *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*, p. 231.
16 THATCHER AND MCNEAL, *Source Book for Mediaeval History*, p. 412.

The decree of 989, pronouncing anathema against those who break into churches, those who rob the poor, and those who strike a clerk, contains the germ of the Pax Dei.

In the following year a council was held at Narbonne. A large number of the laity attended this council—a proof that the decrees issued by these councils were considered the most effective means to improve the deplorable condition of society, and as such won the support of the well-disposed. During the same year (990) Guy of Anjou, Bishop of Puy, proclaimed a Pax Dei, or Peace of God, somewhat more extensive in its scope than its predecessor. In it eight decrees were set forth; the first, second and third embodied the same prohibitions as the decree of 989. It will be of interest to note in this the increased prohibitions:

"In the name of the divine, supreme, and undivided Trinity. Guy of Anjou, by the grace of God bishop (of Puy), greeting and peace to all who desire the mercy of God. Be it known to all the faithful subjects of God, that because of the wickedness that daily increases among the people, we have called together certain bishops (names), and many other bishops, princes, and nobles. And since we know that only the peace-loving shall see the Lord, we urge all men, in the name of the Lord, to be sons of peace.

1. From this hour forth, no man in the bishoprics over which these bishops rule, and in these counties, shall break into a church . . . except that the bishop may enter a church to recover the taxes that are due him from it.

2. No man in the counties or bishoprics shall seize a horse, colt, ox, cow, ass, or the burdens which it carries, or a sheep, goat, or pig, or kill any of them, unless he requires it for a lawful expedition. On an expedition a man may take what he needs to eat, but shall carry nothing home with him; and no one shall take material for fortifying or besieging a castle except from his own lands or subjects.

3. Clergymen shall not bear arms; no one shall injure monks or any unarmed persons who accompany them, except that the bishop or the archdeacon may use such means as are necessary to compel them to pay the taxes which they owe them.

4. No one shall seize a peasant, man or woman, for the purpose of making him purchase his freedom, unless the peasant has forfeited his freedom. This is not meant to restrict the rights of a lord over the peasants living on his own lands or on lands which he claims.

5. From this hour forth no one shall seize ecclesiastical lands, whether those of a bishop, chapter, or monastery, and no one shall levy any unjust tax or toll from them; unless he holds them as precaria from the bishop or the brothers.

6. No one shall seize or rob merchants.

7. No layman shall exercise any authority in the matter of burials or ecclesiastical offerings; no priest shall take money for baptism, for it is the gift of the Holy Spirit.

8. If anyone breaks the peace and refuses to keep it, he shall be excommunicated and anathematized and cut off from the holy mother church, until he makes satisfaction; if he refuses to make satisfaction, no priest shall say mass or perform divine services for him, no priest shall bury him or permit him to be buried in consecrated ground; no priest shall knowingly give him communion; if any priest knowingly violates this decree he shall be deposed."[17]

This Peace of God, which, as was said above, embodied the three prohibitions of the decree of 989, "also provided among other things (1) that ecclesiastical lands should not be seized; (2) that peasants should not be taken captive and held for ransom; (3) that monks or "any unarmed persons who accompany them" should not be injured; (4) that merchants (on a journey) should not be robbed; and (5) that cattle should not be killed or carried off "unless required for a lawful expedition."[18]

The movement soon spread out from Aquitaine. Various synods held in France late in the tenth century and early in the eleventh, passed peace laws. These synodal acts, though differing considerably in detail, all had the one aim, viz. the protection of non-combatants, for the councils had at that early date ex-

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 412-414.

18 ROBINSON, "Peace Laws and Institutions of the Mediaeval Church," *Ecclesiastical Review*, May, 1915, Vol. LII.

tended the Peace of God to protégés of the Church, that is, the poor, pilgrims, crusaders, and even merchants on a journey.

Zealous bishops embraced every opportunity to establish peace in their dioceses. For example, in 994, on the visitation of a terrible plague in Limoges, the bishop assembled the princes and induced them to form a mutual peace alliance. Six years later, in 1000, the nobles of Poitiers, before an assembly of bishops and abbots, bound themselves for the future not to settle their disputes by war, but to bring them before a competent judge. The bishops and abbots made a like promise.

The origin of a peace between Amiens and Corvey, in 1021, is of special interest. A famine that swept over France carried off many people. This calamity, particularly disastrous in these two towns, along with the burning of the principal church in Corvey was looked upon as a well-deserved punishment for the lawlessness abounding in both places. In order then to appease the wrath of God, the inhabitants pledged themselves to observe peace on every day of the week, and to renew the peace-vow every year.

The Burgundian bishops, two years later, in 1023, at an assembly prevailed upon their people to bind themselves by oath to observe peace and justice, and the bishops in Northern Gaul made similar efforts in their dioceses.

The good accomplished by the peace measures commended the institution to the more law-abiding portions of the population. The Church, encouraged by the success of the Peace of God, sought to establish a perpetual peace, as it were, a second "Pax Romana." An appalling famine that lasted three years (1031-1034) aided the movement, inasmuch as the stricken people saw in the calamity the punishing hand of God, and for fear of losing a second time the divine favor, bound themselves to keep a "holy peace."

Bishops, abbots, and other God-fearing men in Aquitaine seized this opportunity to advocate a "universal peace." The provinces of Arles, Lyons, Burgundy, and finally all France united in the movement. The laity ably supported the clergy in these conferences, and so a general cessation of war between Christians was ordered. The requirements of this "holy peace"

demanded that all persons carrying arms bound themselves not to use them, but to submit their differences to the decisions of the regular tribunals. A strict fast was to be observed on all Fridays and Saturdays, and at the end of five years the peace vows were to be renewed. "With incredible joy," says Glaber, "the decisions of the councils were accepted. The bishops raised their staffs towards heaven, the people their hands, and all cried in one voice, 'Peace, Peace, Peace,' as a confirmation of the eternal alliances they had formed with God."[19] But as most of the peace alliances were formed under pressure of some misfortune, they were often violated when the occasion that gave rise to them disappeared.

Unfortunately there was no machinery for enforcing this "holy peace." The requirement to settle disputes before a tribunal involved no difficulty for the peasants. This they had always been expected to do, but for the feudal lords the case was different. The right to wage private war was a distinctive privilege of theirs, and one they were loathe to surrender. It was, therefore, next to impossible to prevail upon the nobility as a whole to desist from fighting. Professor Emerton throws light upon their condition when he asks, "what at that time was to become of a man who made this sacrifice? His occupation in life was gone. Fighting was his trade and the basis of his social standing. As well might such a man turn monk or cleric at once; for him there was no one of the many resorts, industrial, professional, or mercantile, which open up before the modern man. The demand not to fight at all was too much for mediaeval human nature."[20]

The Truce of God

The character of the times, then, made a complete cessation of war impossible. To this condition the Church wisely conceded, and bent her energies to at least place some restrictions upon the scourge since she could not wipe it out entirely. These restrictions were set forth in the institutions known as the Treuga Dei or the Truce of God, which placed a limit to the number of days on which war might be waged. This novel and re-

19 Glaber, R., *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, Bouquet, X, pp. 4, 5, 50.
20 Emerton, *Mediaeval Europe*, pp. 570-571.

markable effort of the Church to allay the shocking barbarity of those times differed from the Peace of God inasmuch as it merely ordered a temporary cessation of hostilities, while the latter endeavored to establish, at least for some people, a perpetual peace. The difference is well expressed by a modern writer, who says, "The Peace of God was intended to protect certain classes at all times, the Truce to protect all classes at certain times."[21]

Scholars do not agree as to the first recorded appearance of the Truce of God. Huberti and others place it as early as 1027, when a synod held at Elne in Roussillon, sought to establish a "closed time" in each week even for the class privileged to wage war. Kluckhohn, however, maintains that the Truce of God did not appear until 1041. The Truce of God, like its predecessor, the Peace of God, originated in Aquitaine. Several bishops and abbots, including Saint Odilo, abbot of Cluny, issued in 1041, a joint edict in which fighting was prohibited from sunset on Wednesday to sunrise on Monday. This decree, promulgated for the archbishopric of Arles, is the oldest extant document of the Truce of God, and is preserved in the form of a letter written by the bishops of Southern Gaul to the Italian clergy:

"In the name of God, the omnipotent Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Reginald, archbishop of Arles, with Benedict, bishop of Avignon, Nithard, bishop of Nice, the venerable abbot Odilo (of Cluny), and all the bishops, abbots, and other clergy of Gaul, to all the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of Italy, grace and peace from God, the omnipotent Father, who is, was, and shall be.

1. For the salvation of your souls, we beseech all you who fear God and believe in him and have been redeemed by his blood, to follow the footsteps of God, and to keep peace one with another, that you may obtain eternal peace and quiet with Him.

2. This is the peace or truce of God which we have received from heaven through the inspiration of God, and we beseech you to accept it and observe it as we have done; namely, that all Christians, friends and enemies, neighbors and strangers, should keep true and lasting peace one with another from vespers on Wednesday to sunrise on Monday, so that during these four

21 MUNRO, *History of the Middle Ages*, p. 140.

days and five nights, all persons may have peace, and, trusting in this peace, may go about their business without fear of their enemies.

3. All who keep the peace and truce of God shall be absolved of their sins by God, the omnipotent Father, and His Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and by St. Mary with the choir of virgins, and St. Michael with the choir of angels, and St. Peter with all the saints and all the faithful, now and forever.

4. Those who have promised to observe the truce and have willfully violated it, shall be excommunicated by God the omnipotent Father, and His Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, from the communion of all the saints of God, shall be accursed and despised here and in the future world, shall be damned with Dathan and Abiram and with Judas who betrayed his Lord, and shall be overwhelmed in the depths of hell, as was Pharaoh in the midst of the sea, unless they make such satisfaction as is described in the following:

5. If anyone has killed another on the days of the truce of God, he shall be exiled and driven from the land and shall make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, spending his exile there. If anyone has violated the truce of God in any other way, he shall suffer the penalty prescribed by the secular laws and shall do double the penance prescribed by the canons.

6. We believe it is just that we should suffer both secular and spiritual punishment if we break the promise which we have made to keep the peace. For we believe that this peace was given to us from heaven by God; for before God gave it to his people, there was nothing good done among us. The Lord's day was not kept, but all kinds of labor were performed on it.

7. We have vowed and dedicated these four days to God; Thursday, because it is the day of his ascension; Friday, because it is the day of his passion; Saturday, because it is the day in which he was in the tomb; and Sunday, because it is the day of his resurrection; on that day no labor shall be done and no one shall be in fear of his enemy.

8. By the power given to us from God through the apostles, we bless and absolve all who keep the peace and truce of God;

we excommunicate, curse, anathematize, and exclude from the holy mother church all who violate it.

9. If anyone shall punish violators of this decree and of the truce of God, he shall not be held guilty of a crime, but shall go and come freely with the blessing of all Christians, as a defender of the cause of God. But if anything has been stolen on other days, and the owner finds it on one of the days of the truce, he shall not be restrained from recovering it, lest thereby an advantage should be given to the thief.

10. In addition, brothers, we request that you observe the day on which the peace and the truce was established by us, keeping it in the name of the holy Trinity. Drive all thieves out of your country, and curse and excommunicate them in the name of all the saints.

11. Offer your tithes and the first fruits of your labors to God, and bring offerings from your goods to the churches for the souls of the living and the dead, that God may free you from all evils in this world, and after this life bring you to the Kingdom of heaven, through Him who lives and reigns with God the Father and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen."[22]

The whole tenor of the document shows how seriously the matter was taken up. The people in general received it as an express command of God, and rulers recognized in it the only means to improve the disturbed condition of things, to establish as far as possible safety for persons and property. The movement spread rapidly throughout France. Different synods issued peace laws, which varied greatly as regards detail, but the principle expressed in the first decree remained the basis for all.

The chief point of difference in the enactments of the various synods was the duration of the Truce. To the four days, as seen in the one cited above, were added certain other days and seasons; for example, a synod, held in Burgundy in the same year 1041, extended the Truce to include the whole time from Advent to the first Sunday after the Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the first Sunday after Easter. A year later 1042, a synodal act established a Truce in Normandy, which included

22 THATCHER and MCNEAL, *Source Book for Mediaeval History*, pp. 414-416.

the foregoing days and seasons, and added the period from Low Sunday to Pentecost. The Council of Tulujes, in the diocese of Elne, exempted from war the time specified above, as well as three feasts of our Blessed Mother, along with their vigils, the feasts of the birth and the beheading of the Baptist, those of the Finding and of the Exaltation of the Cross, and the ember days. The peace decree of this council included the Pax Dei, which, it will be remembered, exempted certain persons, things, and places from the operations of war.

The Truce of God won general favor and recognition on its re-enactment by the Council of Clermont in 1095. In his stirring speech at that council Pope Urban II, after dwelling on the evils prevalent in some parts of France, said: "Therefore, let us re-enact the law made by our holy ancestors long ago and commonly called the 'Truce of God.' I most earnestly exhort you that each one should strenuously do all in his power to have it observed in his bishopric. But if anyone misled by pride or cupidity breaks it voluntarily, let him be anathematized by the authority of God and by the sanction of the decrees of this council."[23]

The wording of the decree has not been preserved, but William of Malmesbury gives the following as the substance of the first decree enacted by the council:

"Be it enacted, that monks, clergymen, women, and those who may be with them, shall remain in peace every day; farther, on three days, viz., the second, third and fourth days of the week, an injury done to anyone shall not be considered an infraction of the Peace; but on the remaining four days, if anyone injures another, he shall be considered a violator of the Sacred Peace, and shall be punished in the manner decreed."[24]

In view of his plans for a crusade, Pope Urban extended the Truce to include the crusaders. Until their return from the Holy Land, they and their possessions were under the special protection of the Church, "anathema being pronounced against

23 MUNRO, D. C., *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 4.
24 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 6.

those who should invade the possessions of anyone engaged in the holy war."[25]

The canon enacted at Clermont became the general norm, though Urban had not claimed for the council the authority of an oecumenical council. The peace, however, that he confirmed at Clermont was sworn to by Count of Fulco and his vassals, and imposed by Ivo of Chartres on his dioceses; a council at Rouen in 1096, and one at Saint Omer in 1099 adopted the Truce in this form.

Previous to the council in 1095, the bishop was the highest judge of violators of the peace, but two letters (dated sometime after this), written by Ivo of Chartres to the papal legate in France regarding violations of the Truce, bear evidence that the bishop was no longer the highest authority in these matters, since these letters concerned an appeal made to the legate by a count, who considered himself unjustly punished by his bishop. It would seem from this that as Kluckhohn remarks, "Das Concil hat seine Früchte getragen, und der Papst is oberster Hüter des Friedens geworden."[26]

The Truce of God was again re-enacted at the Council of Rheims in 1119, by Pope Callixtus II. Besides the usual prohibitions restricting useless shedding of blood, this Truce embodied two new points, viz., chaplains were forbidden to celebrate mass in any castle where stolen goods were stored, or where a prisoner was unjustly held; on every Wednesday evening the church bells were to summon the faithful to their parish churches, where the peace laws were to be read.

These two features aided the movement considerably, for the first, the prohibition regarding the celebration of mass, took away from the warring baron's castle a privilege that he was loathe to surrender; and the second, the frequent reading of the Truce has a two-fold significance, inasmuch as it instructed the people and created sentiment in favor of peace. This weekly reminder of the peace laws naturally lessened the possibility of their being violated with impunity.

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25 ROBINSON, "Peace Laws and Institutions of the Mediaeval Church," *Ecclesiastical Review*, May, 1915, Vol. LII, No. 5, p. 532.

26 KLUCKHOHN, *Geschichte des Gottesfrieden*, p. 112.

The efforts thus far to establish peace had been confined to local councils, but in 1123, a general council took up the matter; Canon XIII of the First Lateran Council reads, "If anyone has violated the Truce, he shall be admonished three times. If after the third admonition, he refuses to make satisfaction, the bishop shall with the assistance of the archbishop, or two of the neighboring bishops excommunicate the violator, and send notice thereof in writing to the bishops of the vicinity."[27]

The Second Lateran Council, in 1139, fixed the periods and duration of the Truce, and the Third Lateran Council, in 1179, extended the institution to the whole Church by Canon XXI. The Truce of God, therefore, became a definite article of Canon Law, and remained a recognized principle until the civil authorities had sufficient power to attain the same end by different means.

Conclusion

From the beginning of the movement, the secular powers had, where they were able, rendered the Church assistance in enforcing respect for the public peace, and this they did by adding their physical punishments to the spiritual ones of the Church, but for the most part, the enforcement of the Truce of God was left to the bishops and the local clergy. When mere anathema did not suffice to check the lawlessness of the private combatants, nor the more powerful weapon, the interdict, which struck the innocent as well as the guilty, the bishops formed leagues for the maintenance of peace.

Each diocese had its own Peace Association, made up of representative men of all classes, who took a solemn oath to observe and enforce the peace. Here is a type of the oath administered to a member of one of the leagues: "I (John) swear upon the Holy Gospels of God, to guard the peace faithfully, to watch in loyal faith over all that touches peace and promise to be true to peace in all things and in everything implied in peace; I will neither spare nor attack anyone from hatred or interest, and as far as depends on me, I will respect the rights of all. . . ."[28]

27 *Ibid.*, p. 100.
28 Plater, *Primer of Peace and War*, p. 242.

Each association or league "was directed by the bishop; it had its regular statutes, its treasury, its magistrates, and, what was vitally important, it had its armed force capable of re-establishing order where it was disturbed, and of punishing, by weapons more swift than spiritual menaces, the nobles who had violated their oaths to keep the peace. Violations of the peace were brought before the so-called Judges of the Peace, a tribunal which depended upon and was presided over by the bishop of the diocese."[29] Those who refused to yield to the decisions of this tribunal were pursued and punished by the Army of the Peace, a militia made up principally of the members of the parish, and led by the parish priests.

Though these defenders of the public peace won many victories, they were often defeated by the well-armed and skilled knights. In one unfortunate conflict, an archbishop lost almost his entire company, among which were no less than seven hundred clergymen.

The results of these Peace Leagues were perhaps less successful than one might expect, but it must be borne in mind that not only was the organization of the Army of the Peace always more or less imperfect, but the feudal lords, so long as they had political power, were decidedly averse to surrendering their cherished privilege of waging private war. The evil was too profound, too firmly fixed in the very constitution of society to be thoroughly eradicated until feudalism itself ceased to exist.

The persevering efforts of the Church, however, were not without beneficent results. The Pax Dei and the Treuga Dei in the eleventh and twelfth centuries bettered considerably the general condition of things, mitigated, to some extent at least, the evils of private warfare, rendered life more tolerable, and property more secure. In a word, the movements turned the minds of men in a real concrete manner to the true spirit of Christianity. It was thus possible for the rising secular powers, toward the end of the period, to incorporate the Truce of God bodily into their municipal and district statutes.

To quote a writer of the present day: "The institution of the Truce of God—the true forerunner of the Arbitration trea-

29 Monro and Sellery, *Feudal Wars*, p. 177.

ties of the present day—though it would not appear to have been as scrupulously observed as its ecclesiastical projectors intended that it should be, yet undoubtedly paved the way for those successive efforts which aimed at the complete suppression in the interests of humanity and law and order, of the odious right of Private War."[30]

These two institutions of French origin were the means used by the Church for the reform of society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The measures of their success may be judged from Semichon's account of the time: "In that period of two centuries, under the peaceful influence of the Church, in the absence of all civil authority and of all centralization, the middle and lower classes developed with a power of expansion and a liberty which were never equaled in the following ages. This is the greatest and most complete application of self-government which the modern world has seen."[31]

"Dans cette période de deux siècles, sous l'influence pacifique de l'Eglise, en l'absence de toute autorité civile et de toute centralisation, les classes moyenne et inferieure se développèrent avec une puissance d'expansion et une liberté qui ne furent point égalées dans les ages suivants. C'est la plus grande et la plus complète application de self-government que le monde moderne ait vue."

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30 MACMILLAN, "Future of War," *Scottish Review*, May, 1915, Part 77, No. 38, p. 22.

31 SEMICHON, *La Paix et la Trève de Dieu*, p. 316.

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SR. MARY JOSEPH ALOYSIUS, M.A.
Hartford, Conn.

FATHER ROBERT PARSONS, S.J.

To the average state of to-day religion is not a fundamental issue. Even the Kulturkampf produced no martyrdoms. Matters of faith seldom affect the ordinary citizen unless the Ku Klux Klan, parochial schools, or racial and social animosities complicate the question at issue. The secularization of the state seems to have been one of the outstanding consequences of the Reformation. Public opinion is little concerned with the religious beliefs of any man who lives a quiet, respectable life. Society at present is based upon a system predominantly economic and political.

To Elizabethan England, however, religion was an extremely vital factor, both for its own sake and because of its long connection with the state. The Queen was by no means a religious fanatic; her aims are generally recognized to have been predominantly secular. Nevertheless, she insisted upon conformity to the state religion, and made heresy to it treason to the state. As Supreme Governor, the Queen demanded spiritual fealty.

The spirit of religious tolerance, or possibly indifference, which now prevades public opinion was absent in the England of 1600. To most people to-day, the right of each individual to decide for himself what shall be his religion, party, occupation, and the like, seems one of our immemorial rights.[1] Of course, it is still true that the anarchist, socialist, atheist, and other believers in unpopular doctrines must meet the social persecution which Sir J. F. Stephen justifies as the preservative of society.[2] Although Seaton is right in feeling that modern toleration has the aspect of abstract right[3] as well as the sanction of expediency, its *raison d'etre* is almost entirely the latter. Many people are still unwilling to accept the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justic Holmes in the Abrams Case[4] "that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the

1 SEATON, *The Theory of Toleration*, p. 1.
2 *Ibid.*, 41.
3 *Ibid.*, 38.
4 250 U. S., 624.

competition of the market." In the sixteenth century, when modern political theory was being formed in the clash of religious ideas,[5] toleration seldom was urged and then almost solely for reasons of expediency. "Truth" alone had a right to exist.

The theory of the Politiques seems to have prevailed,[6] but it was anathema to most thinkers of the day. Elizabeth's Proclamation of 5 November, 1602, condemned with horror the insinuation that she intended to grant toleration[7]; and similarly Robert Parsons made clear that he opposed the idea of liberty of religion,[8] even though he would grant "a certain Connivence or Toleration of Magistrates *only for a certain time* to be limited and with *particular conditions* . . . "[9] As Christopher Lever said, "Tolleration of Religions is (in some States) reputed a necessarie pollicie, but a Religious Prince that doth love God more than States, can never tollerate that pollicie, for God doth hate all connivencie—and he is lame in truth, that halteth between two opinions." Parsons himself pleaded for toleration at various times. He seems to have tacitly sought for it in 1580[10] and again after the accession of James I.[11] Parsons argued virtually that Protestants as rebels could not deny toleration to the parent religion, while the Church justly could deny it to her wayward children as heretics.[12] He planned to grant the temporary toleration described above when England was converted again to the Church, so that inward as well as outward conformity should be secured by degrees.[13] In this conception he had gone a long way towards recognizing the diversity which had in fact arisen even while the theoretical necessity of uniformity still prevailed.[14] Indeed, in the *Treatise tending to mitigation towards Catholic Subjects in England,* Parsons asked what Thomas Morton would do about the many Catholics who still

5 FIGGIS, *From Gerson to Grotius,* 5.
6 *Ibid.,* 95-116, and 180. Cp. Laski, (ed.) *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos.*
7 DODD, *Church History,* ed. by TIERNEY, III, A.
8 *Jesuits Memorial,* 32-33.
9 *Ibid.,* 34.
10 *Epistle of the Persecution of Catholics,* 6-8.
11 *Treatise tending to mitigation,* in 1607 and *Answer to Barlow,* in 1612.
12 *Ibid.,* 259-260.
13 *The Catholic Encyclopedia* article on "Tolerance" shows that in 1600 the distinction between heresy and ignorance was being gradually recognized.
14 Cp. MCILWAIN, *Political Works of James I.* Introd. XVII.

lived in England. He declared "that the bowels of England are so combyned and linked together at this day in this point as hardly can the sword purse the one, but it must wound also deeply the other." And he warned against putting the people into desperate exasperation because even "the least and weakest worms of the earth" will turn.[15] The facts of the situation were thus influencing the theorists, but the peculiar situation which secured the Edict of Nantes to France did not exist in England. England clung to the anomalous doctrine of the European Protestants *cuius regio eius religio* which denied to the individual the right of dissent from the national Church or the national State even while it asserted the right of national independence from Rome.[16]

The religious situation is shown perhaps most vividly by a quotation from the man whom we have already seen disavowing toleration, pleading for it, and also suggesting a temporary compromise.[17] " . . . supposing ther is but one only religion that can be true among Christians, as both reason and *Athanasius*, his *Crede*, doth plainly teach us, and moreover seing that to me ther can be no other faith or religion avaylable for my salvation than only that which I my selfe do believe, for that my owne conscience must testifie for me, or against me, certayne it is, that unto me and my conscience he which in any pointe believeth otherwise than I do, and standeth wilfully in the same is an infidel, for that he believeth not that which in my faith and conscience is the only and sole truth, wherby he must be saved."[18]

This statement clearly shows the attitude of the sixteenth century. Truth is all important, and error has no right to exist. To Catholics and Protestants alike, the existence of a religion other than their own was scandal, corruption and sin before God. It was heinous for the State to permit it. Religion was the great fact of the sixteenth century, and the great drama of the times was the intense struggle among the different faiths and particularly between religion and secular politics. In France

15 *Ibid.*, 34.
16 POLLARD, *Factors in Modern History*, 70.
17 MCILWAIN, *op. cit.*, XXIV. This is not opportunism in our sense; "For to these men republicanism—and in fact all secular politics—was only a means to an end: they thought of it merely as an aid *ad finem spiritualem*."
18 *Conference concerning the next succession.* I, 214.

the contest was particularly of the first sort, for religions fought there with each other for the control of the State and thereby for their respective supremacies. In England, the Government had taken over religion and claimed that it was essentially within its jurisdiction. The struggle, therefore, was rather of religion with secular politics. The great contest of the last quarter of the sixteenth century arose from the effort of Catholicism to reestablish the Faith in England against the will of the Protestant State.

In this long controversy, theories of popular sovereignty and of the indirect power of the Papacy challenged the extreme despotism of the secular state and denied the divine right of kings. To the English Government of 1600, the former concepts combined both treason and heresy. Elizabeth achieved unrestrained autocracy in affairs of Church and State; and James I erected the Stuart dynasty upon the fundamental hypothesis of the unimpeachable right of kings to rule independently of popular control or consent, by virtue of the divine right of hereditary succession. And both Elizabeth and James looked upon one man as being perhaps the most dangerous single opponent of their basic ideas. That man, the foremost of English Jesuits and a political theorist of very great significance and influence, was Robert Parsons.[19]

Parsons can be understood only as a zealous missionary. "The single aim of Parsons' public life was the restoration of England, by persuasion or force, to the Roman church; and he doubtless believed that it could be best affected under Jesuit dictatorship."[20] When he first undertook this colossal task, the "good Queen Bess" was reigning. Her conscious policy was to maintain herself in the good will and affection of her people[21]; and her work was to refine a strong absolutism into a despotism based upon the assent of the great majority. The Elizabethan settlement, which will be discussed later, was foisted upon the English people and the governments of Europe with extraordinary dexterity. Elizabeth and her great minister,

19 Or "Persons," as it is written very often. POLLEN and other authorities prefer this spelling, but the British State Papers list him as "Parsons." (TAUNTON, pp. 14 ff.) Both spellings are contemporary.

20 T. G. LAW in *D. N. B.*

21 MEYER, *England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth.* 188.

Lord Cecil, bolstered up the equivocal system which they had gradually adopted by a shrewd manipulation of subject and foreign princes alike. By declaration of Parliament, Elizabeth was not only Queen but also Supreme Governor[22] in all spiritual matters, and by the Act of Uniformity (1 Elizabeth 2) of the same year, 1559, all her lay subjects were compelled under penalty of a fine for recusancy, to attend services in the established church. Parsons, therefore, confronted a fait accompli. He had to contend against a Government desperately determined to maintain the religion which it had established by legislative acts. It was heresy and treason combined to resist it, and the Government constantly endeavored to make it appear that its punishments were inflicted for treason. By definition, undoubtedly, Parsons was guilty of treason in his attempt to restore Catholicism.

We should first give a brief history of the man who returned in 1580 to England in the gay apparel of a soldier to begin his conquest of souls.[23] His incomplete autobiography begins with the words, "Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo."[24] He was born on June 24, 1546, at Netherstowey, the sixth of eleven children. Doubts of his legitimacy have no support, especially in view of the letter which his Protestant brother, Rev. John Persons, wrote "in defence of his brother's legitimation, 1602."[25] Largely through the aid of his parish priest, Parsons was sent to Balliol, where he eventually became the most successful tutor. His scoffing and cynicism seem to have made him unpopular with his colleagues. In February, 1573, he was forced to resign. The reasons are by no means clear. Illegitimacy and peculation are the grounds alleged by his enemies, but I do not find substantiation even of the second charge. Taunton says that "the truth seems to be that he was forced to resign on account of perpetual disagreements with his fellows, and was afterwards expelled from the college when it was found out that he had be-

22 1 Elizabeth 1, DODD, *Church History*, ed. TIERNEY, II, app., XXXIV-XXXVI.

23 T. G. LAW in *D. N. B.* and H. J. POLLEN in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, give good brief biographies, while the only formal biography, TAUNTON'S *History of the Jesuits in England*, is extensive, but extremely prejudiced. MEYER (*op. cit.* 195-200) gives a more sympathetic and accurate picture of him.

24 Catholic Record Society, *Miscellania* II, 13.

25 *Ibid.*, 40-45.

come in heart "a great Papist."[26] The influence of Christopher Bagshawe in forcing the resignation, and the words *sponte et coactus*[27] imply that the resignation was due to his cynical and bitter attitude there. It is sometimes said that he did not change his religion until later, but I think that Campion's effort to pass over the Oath of Supremacy when Parsons was taking his degree[28] proves that he was already tending strongly toward the Catholic Church. At any rate, Parsons soon withdrew to the Continent and, perhaps largely through the influence of Fr. William Good, determined to join the Society of Jesus.[29] His entrance was made on 25 July, 1575.[30] Henceforth his life was so completely given over to that militant body that Taunton[31] declares, "as a matter of fact, he is the *History* of the Jesuits; and his successors . . . were content, when they had the chance, to put into practice what his fertile brain had conceived as desirable." Authorities all agree that Parsons was a man of uncommon ability, especially as a leader. He rose high in the ranks of the Jesuits,[32] and was responsible for the establishment of several colleges, most notably that at Valladolid.[33] He was long the devoted friend of William Allen who was raised to the College of Cardinals in 1587 largely through his influence.[34] He toiled with Pope and monarch alike for the reconquest of England to the Faith. Besides his exacting duties in the Society (especially as Prefect of the Missions[35] in the later days), he labored strenuously as missionary, diplomatist, and controversialist for the conversion of his countrymen.[36] His whole life

26 TAUNTON, *op cit.*, 26.

27 *Et* is blotted out and *non* inserted, by a later alteration, apparently, according to Archbishop Abbot, in 1601.

28 POLLEN, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 252-253.

29 TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, 26.

30 *Ibid.*, 29.

31 *Ibid.*, VIII.

32 He was admitted to the Four Vows on 1 May, 1587. TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, 127.

33 TAUNTON, *Ibid.*, 138.

34 TAUNTON, *Ibid.*, 72, 113, attributed Parsons' efforts largely to a definite plan for utilizing Allen in the interests of Spain. I regard this interpretation as being highly prejudiced, as was TAUNTON'S thesis that Parsons labored to overthrow the English Government in the interests of Spain. Meyer denies this. I shall attempt later to explain the situation more fully.

35 For which see TAUNTON, *Ibid.*, 369-370.

36 On these points compare JESSOPP, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, 90; TAUNTON, *op cit.*, 44; POLLEN, op cit., 290.

was given for the same cause as that for which Edmund Campion accepted martyrdom at Tyburn. With his great vigor, ability and ardor, he took a foremost part in the Counter-Reformation. As Dr. Gee indignantly wrote, "This is certain, that he was by Nature and Inclination every way fitted to make a compleat Jesuit, he was fierce, turbulent, and bold, which are the three main Qualifications of a Jesuit; he had indeed one great fault, I cannot tell whether I should call it a defect, that he was too learned for that Society; but perchance Ignorance was not then so essential to Jesuitism, as our Age, and especially our Nation, has convinced the World that it is."[37] Dr. Jessopp, however, points to the testimony of Bacon that in the late sixteenth century[38] the Jesuit universities were foremost in the field of learning. The society has been aptly described as "perhaps the most indefatigable and astute as well as the most centralized and efficient organization of modern times."[39]

A few words should be said here about this Society to which Robert Parsons belonged. In 1522, Ignatius Loyola had set forth with inspired zeal upon the mission which was confirmed formally by the Pope on 27 September, 1540. Loyola's inspiration[40] and genius permeated the hearts of men all over Europe and brought zealous Catholics together in a carefully organized and ably directed ecclesiastical army.[41] [42] These men were real soldiers of their faith. They had surrendered the goods of the world for the attainment of eternal bliss.[43] The education of youth[44] was one of their main purposes, as their numerous seminaries[45] evidence. Spiritual devotion and military discipline

37 Introd. to *Jesuits Memorial*, xv.

38 JESSOPP, *op cit.*, 75; citing *Advancement of Learning* Bk. I, Ch. 3, Sec. 4. Also cp. HUGHES, *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits.*

39 MCILWAIN, *op. cit.*, xix.

40 SEDGWICK, *Ignatius Loyola*, esp. 338.

41 Cp. HUGHES, *op. cit.*

42 Cp. Campion's Second Point of his *Challenge* (reprinted in POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 349-352.) "At the voice of our generall provost which is to be a warrant from Heaven, and an oracle from Christ, I toke my voyage from Prage to Rome, wher saide Father Generall is alwayes resident, and from Rome to England, as I might and would have gone joyously into anye part of Christendom or Heathen lande hadde I bene thereunto assigned."

43 HUGHES, *op. cit.*, 34.

44 *Ibid.*, 43.

45 *Ibid.*, 74.

were inculcated upon the members through an intense novitiate.[46] Students, of course, were primarily schooled in the teachings of the Order. The Jesuits were very important controversialists[47] in matters of government, especially in attacking theories of absolutism and of Divine Right. Their influence is well illustrated by the fury of the attacks made against them. If the Pope seemed to many a Protestant to be Anti-Christ, the Jesuits, who earnestly supported him, seemed to be the fiends of Satan. The vigor and zeal of Fr. Parsons created opposition to him and to his order even among the secular clergy.[48] Bitter attacks, therefore, were made even from within the Church. The Politiques, in addition, were particularly opposed to Jesuit theories, as the controversy about papal overlordship between the Barclays and Bellarmine shows.

The purpose of the Jesuits was the salvation of souls and the strengthening of the Church. As the Blessed Edmund Campion wrote, "My charge is free to preache the Gospell, to minister the Sacraments, to instruct the Simple, to reforme sinners, to confute errors, and in briefe to trie all armoure spirituall against foule vice and proude ignorance, wherewith many of my deare countrymen are abused."[49] Parsons ably carried out these duties, defending the old principles and morals and advancing toward the solution of new problems. He kept always before him the purpose of the Society—*Defensio ac Propagatio Fidei.*[50]

Father Parsons' single aim was the reëstablishment of the Holy Roman Catholic Church in England. The mission of 1580; the educational machinery of the seminaries; the negotiations with Mary Stuart, the Duke of Guise, Philip II and James VI; the elaborate discussions about the next succession, and the spasmodic efforts for toleration; and even the long controversy with the secular priests,—are all evidences of his unwearied effort to better the situation of Catholics in England and Europe.

46 Cp. MEYER, *op. cit.*, 100-110; TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, 11; and SEDGWICK, *op. cit.*

47 E. g. Bellarmine, Suarez, Mariana, Torquemada, Parsons, et al.

48 For Jesuit-Secular Controversy, see Appendix to Part I.

49 HANMER, *Great Bragge and Challenge of Mr. Champion*, No. 3 or Campion's articles (*ibid.*).

50 HUGHES, *op. cit.*, 16. Words in Papal Bull of Confirmation 27 September, 1540.

His terrific vigor and uncompromising perseverance made him a preëminent object for the esteem and respect of his friends and the furious hostility of his opponents. More reports in his *History* that Parsons constantly uttered the words of the Apostle: "And let us not be weary in well doing; for in due time we shall reap if we faint not."[51]

It has been the custom of his enemies to impute political and pro-Spanish designs to the efforts of Robert Parsons. Meyer corrects the extreme prejudices of Taunton in this respect, and I believe that those who view Parsons as a mere servant of the King of Spain[52] utterly fail to understand the man and his mission. Religion knew no territorial boundaries to this disciple of the Catholic Church; and even English Protestants felt themselves justified in aiding their co-religionists in the Netherlands.[53] Efforts in behalf of the Church which seemed traitorous to most Englishmen occurred to Parsons' mind only as *adversus impietatem patriam*.[54] We must not forget that the zealous Catholic could not well disagree with the words of Maurice Clenock in 1562, "Better to attain eternal blessedness under a foreign lord than to be cast into the nethermost hell by an enemy at home."[55] As I shall try to show later, Parsons' plans for the reconverted England are very patriotic and do not admit of Spanish predominance.[56] And his purpose is always religious.

And it was because of religion that Parsons and the Jesuits were feared and hated by the English Government. The Puritans were as yet unorganized and so not an imminent danger. Catholic tradition and the activity of the trained seminary priests and Jesuits made Catholicism a real menace to the Elizabethan Settlement. But particularly was religious nonconformity in Jesuits high treason, because of their unyielding assertion of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope and his indirect power in temporal matters. The attitude of the English Government was not merely defensive.[57] Three years before the Papal bull of

51 Quoted by TAUNTON, *op cit.*, 392.
52 Cp. GEE'S note on p. 26, *Jesuits Memorial.*
53 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 240, 256.
54 *Ibid.*, 298.
55 *Ibid.*, 242.
56 See for treatment of Spain p. 20 ff. of mss., also Parts II and III C.
57 MEYER, *loc. cit.*, 47.

deposition was issued against the Queen, Frs. Harding and Sanders as religious missionaries were accused as "trumpetters of treason."[58] "So even then . . . the logical conclusion drawn from the idea of a national church was that conversion to a foreign church meant treason." As Beaumond declared at the trial of Fr. John Ingram in 1594, "My lord, the jury hath heard the evidence. He hath confessed himself to be a priest, made by the authority of the bishop of Rome, since the first of this queen: his coming into England, though he but set foot within the land is treason, whereof let the jury consider."[59]

It is necessary to make a few remarks here about the change which had occurred in England since the days when Henry VIII had been named "Defender of the Faith" for his service in refuting the heresies of Luther. When Henry had added the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England after God," he still maintained Catholic services; and it was only under Edward VI that actual Protestantism flourished. Mary restored the Faith, and established its foundations so firmly that it endured despite the work of Elizabeth. But Mary had lacked the Tudor capacity for holding the affection of her people, and she stirred up such animosity in her pursuit of duty that her subjects welcomed the accession of her half-sister,[60] illegitimate in the eyes of the Church and by the law of the land. Elizabeth's extraordinary capacity for government and diplomacy capitalized Mary's errors and established a despotism which centered about her personal popularity.[61]

Elizabeth renewed the heresies of Henry and Edward and established the Church of England by Act of Parliament. Her work has already been studied carefully by Father Pollen, Dom Birt, and A. O. Meyer. From their work and from source material elsewhere available, we must explain briefly how the Elizabethan Settlement succeeded in reversing the extraordinary work of Mary and in separating the great majority of Englishmen from the Faith.

58 *Ibid.*, 126.

59 Letter from Holtby to Garnett, quoted in Vol. III of DODD, *Church History of England*, ed. TIERNEY, p. 138.

60 MEYER, *op cit.*, 12-15. SIMPSON, *Edward Campion*, 143.

61 *Ibid.*, 145.

[62]The close connection of Church and State was an outstanding fact in medieval Europe. Catholicism had taught the moral obligation of obedience to the civil law.[63] It was recognized to be fallible, but ordinarily to be obeyed. Men like Wolsey and Cramner were primates of politics as much as of religion. The necessity of uniformity had been recognized for many centuries and was still to endure with but little abated vigor for more than a century. (Act of Toleration, 1689.) The people were accustomed to the coöperation of Church and State and perhaps even their partial identification. As long as an apparent continuity were maintained,[64] [65] the people probably realized very little of the change which had taken place.[66] It is noteworthy that many consented to the Henrican innovations and yet refused to conform under Elizabeth.[67] Experience had taught them a clearer perception of the consequences of obedience to the monarch. Birt's figures[68] indicate a much larger degree of actual nonconformity than has ordinarily been recognized. He asserts that 1875 clergy were deprived or withdrew voluntarily out of a total which he estimates at 8000.[69] Elizabeth removed many of the bishops who would have resisted, and death had already taken several of the foremost.[70] Ignorance, uncertainty, and the absence of any definite leadership caused the gradual submission of the Catholic population before the acts of a shrewdly aggressive minority.

Birt shows the eagerness of Pope Paul IV to secure peace and conformity by ignoring minor differences.[71] Undoubtedly Parliament acted against the will of the ecclesiastics.[72] The change in religion was precipitated against the will of the Church in England by the Government. Philip II of Spain sought for an alliance with the new Queen and labored against

62 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 135.
63 PARSONS, *Epistle of the Persecution of Catholics*, 18-19.
64 BIRT, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, 138.
65 For an extreme estimate, see *Anglican Essays*, 90-91.
66 BIRT, *op. cit.*, 137.
67 *Ibid.*, 164, 203.
68 MEYER rejects BIRT'S computations to a large degree; *op. cit.*, 29, 59. POLLEN accepts them; *op. cit.*, 41.
69 BIRT, *op. cit.*, 124, 161 ff.
70 BIRT, *op. cit.*, 139-140.
71 *Ibid.*, 9.
72 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 33-58.

a formal sentence of deposition.[73] Elizabeth seems to have deliberately adopted an equivocal attitude, or else dissimulated as a makeshift until she could judge of the tide. Meantime, I think, the Tudor tradition of a popularly sustained monarchy accounts for much of the acquiescence which astonished those who know nothing of the rigorous methods of the sixteenth century state. Elizabeth lacked a strong army; perhaps,[74] but she had the "government" behind her to face an unformulated opposition. Mary had succeeded in reaching the crown despite Jane Grey: Elizabeth certainly was not lacking in powers of strategy and rule. The popular hatred of Spanish control was a positive factor in her establishment.

For the first few years of Elizabeth's reign, Birt's summary is excellent. "As in the case of the clergy, so in that of the laity, while some without doubt heartily embraced the change of religion, the majority of them were not favorable to it, but acquiesced outwardly for the sake of peace, not fully understanding the details of the differences between Protestantism and Catholicism."[75]

Once the Elizabethan Settlement had been effected by Acts of Parliament[76] and outward submission of the people, it remained to put it into effect. The Government did this by careful and gradual steps,[77] centering its attack upon the supremacy of the Papacy and the sacrifice of the mass.[78] It is well known that consciences were ordinarily not pressed for a long time,[79] and the old priests were allowed to continue if they took the oath and observed outward obedience. The big question remains, however, as to how those who were Catholics under Mary apostasized or clung to their Faith. Birt says "England ceased to be Catholic only by degrees; and the change was due not to conviction, but to the steady pressure of coercion, as applied by an ever increasing accumulation of penal enactment."[80] Meyer disputes

73 Cp. MACAULAY, *Burleigh and his Times*, 746-748.
74 (?).
75 BIRT, *op. cit.*, xi.
76 Cp. DODD, of *Church History*, Vol. III App. for these Acts and proclamation.
77 KNOX, *op. cit.*, xvii.
78 POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 41.
79 SANDER'S *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, 268.
80 BIRT, *op. cit.*, 296.

this: "The great apostasy . . . was the result of silent compromises with conscience."[81] Long acquiescence in the official religion and separation from active contact with Rome were the negative aspects of the change,[82] he says, and adds the positive factor of patriotic desire for English services.

Obviously the number of Catholics in England diminished dangerously until the Mission of 1580 restored the Faith to a small but determined minority. One further explanation of this change remains. Professor McIlwain points to the general uncertainty and ambiguity prevalent in so many places until the Council of Trent defined clearly the demarcation between Catholic and Protestant. At the time when the English people were ordered to conform by the Act of Uniformity, clear definitions were lacking. A Catholic might still take the Oath without recognizing the full import. The Decrees of the Council of Trent changed the situation. They plainly forbade Catholics to participate in Protestant services. But by this time, the Established Church in England had rooted itself strongly. People had become accustomed to attending it. They suddenly had to decide whether to submit to the Council's decree or obey the Government. Demoralization, habit and fear, no doubt, decided the issue for those still lukewarm. It is notable that Campion and Parsons had taken the Oath while at Balliol against their compunctions; and yet the first died a martyr and the second sacrificed thirty-six years in constant effort for the Church.

But by 1578, there was no doubt as to the distinction and incompatibility of the two religions, as John Tippet's remarkable letter to his father shows.[83] The Lutheran doctrine of passive obedience which Cramner had once preached, later broke down even for Cramner himself, but it took strong men to accept death, or wealthy men to have the means to leave the kingdom. Most ordinary people accepted outward conformity under Elizabeth, especially when their consciences were not pressed closely. But the situation was brought to a crisis when missionaries entered the realm from Europe, bringing the decrees of the Coun-

81 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 59-73.
82 *Ibid.*, 70-71.
83 Catholic Record Society, *Misc. II*, 82. Cp. ACTON, *History of Freedom and other Essays*, 561.

cil of Trent and reviving a fervent spiritual devotion. The political danger of the Jesuit mission in 1580 was in the order to cease the outward obedience through which Catholics slowly were losing the faith.

The mission of 1580 was purely religious. It was an effort to strengthen the remaining English Catholics and bring back the Faith.[84] It is a fitting inauguration for the work of Robert Parsons, for he shows unmistakably his extraordinary ability as missionary, leader of men, and controversialist. The purpose of the mission has already been shown by the quotation from Campion's *Challenge*.[86] The success of the mission is evidenced on all sides. The limitations under which the priests worked prevented any great reconversion, but they undoubtedly did strengthen the faith of those who still professed Catholicism so much that the Elizabethan persecution which was instituted furiously against them did not weaken their loyalty to the Church.[87] Elizabeth undoubtedly wanted eventual uniformity and had overlooked local infringements of the ecclesiastical laws because of the insecurity of her throne and her preference to secure her aims with a minimum of friction.[88] This was a purely domestic concern. Uniformity was demanded on national grounds, and nonconformity was treason to the State.[89]

The story of the mission cannot be told here with any sufficiency, despite its great importance in Parsons' career. His active work in the field and his extraordinary literary campaign with a movable printing press may be found in other places.[90] The key to the activity is to be found in the Synod of Southwark[91] in July, 1580. There the Jesuits met several of the surviving Marian clergy in the house of a poor layman in London.

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84 POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 292.

86 Cp. POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 349-355. PARSONS wrote a similar manifesto, *Confessio Fidei ad Magistratus Londoni*, of which only this Latin translation survives. Both were intended for publication only in case of arrest, but Thomas Pounde allowed the contents of Campion's to escape. It scored a distinct victory for the oppressed Catholics.

87 POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 265. See also MERRIMAN, *Some Notes on the Treatment of the English Catholics in the Reign of Elizabeth.*

88 Cp. CARDINAL BOURNE'S Preface to ALLEN'S *Defense of Catholics.*

89 Cp. PARSONS' *A Defense of the Censure . . . of Clarke and Hannen*, 95.

90 SIMPSON, *Edmund Campion.*

91 POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 334-337. MEYER, *op cit.*, 201. TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, 55-58.

There questions of the government of the clergy in England were taken up, Parsons assuming the leadership which had been so lacking.[92] The later question of Jesuit direction of the English mission may well have sprung from Parsons' recollection of this meeting. The Jesuits emphatically denied all political aims, declaring their ignorance of Sander's Irish expedition until they had reached Rheims. It was determined to use the old Sarum rite in services despite the fact that the seminarists had become accustomed to the Roman rite, because of the popular attachment to it and in conformity with the ruling of the Council of Trent. Most notably, however, did they decide that "So public an act as is going to the church, where profession is made to impugne the truth and to deface, alienate, and bring into hatred Christ's Catholic Church is the highest iniquity that can be committed; and therefore a Catholic cannot without great impiety bind himself to be present at those acts.[93] The importance of this action is well shown by the results of a contrary decision in Scotland by Frs. Creighton, Hays and Gordon.[94] Parsons constantly inveighed against outward conformity, as is shown by the book he published in 1580: *A Briefe Discourse conteyning reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church.*

The fruits of the mission[95] are well summarized in a letter of Campion's which Pollen quotes from Allen's *Briefe History of the Martyrdom of XII Reverend Priests*—"The harvest is wonderfully great. . . . There will never want in England men that will have care of their own salvation nor such as will advance other men's. Neither shall this Church here ever fail, so long as priests and pastors shall be found for the sheep, rage man or devil never so much." Campion completed his mission upon the gallows at Tyburn,[96] and by his death was instrumental in converting Henry Walpole to follow in his footsteps.[97]

92 POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 364.

93 POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 335, quoting from p. 36 of PARSONS' *Life of Campion.*

94 Catholic Record Society, I, iii, from SOUTHCOTES' *Historical Notes.* Note esp. p. 168. Cp. also CAMPION'S *Ten Reasons.*

95 T. G. LAW, *Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Elizabeth*, xiii.

96 The vain appeal to Jean Bodin, then attempting to secure a marriage between the Queen and the Duke of Anjou, is a significant commentary upon the religious apathy of the Politiques and the diplomacy of the French. *A Story of Domesticall Difficulties.* Cath. Rec. Soc. *Misc.* II, 183.

97 Cath. Rec. Soc. IV 27, 317.

[98]Parsons himself withdrew to the Continent, entirely without prejudicing his courage or fidelity. He planned to return after completing some books and after arranging details on the Continent. Taunton's narrative[99] seems to rest on little solid evidence, for I do not think that the single testimony of the prejudiced Christopher Bagshawe[100] "that some principall Catholiks sent him worde to depart the realme for otherwise they would deliver him to the temporal magistrate . . ," constitutes adequate foundation for the acceptance of this explanation.

The services of the Mission to the cause of the Catholic religion are well known. Some doubt still may exist as to whether or not treasonable political activity coincided with the religious zeal of Fr. Parsons. The *rebus sic stantibus* clause in the *Explanation* of Pius V[101] has been offered as evidence of treason since the days of Burleigh. Taunton represents this interpretation.[102] Pollen shows that the Irish expedition was entirely distinct and supposedly considerably anterior.[103] Meyer supports Pollen entirely on this point. The instructions from the General read "Let them not entangle themselves in matters of State, nor should they write hither political news,"[104] nor start "Conversations against the Queen, nor allow others to do so except perhaps in the company of those whom they hold to be exceptionally faithful, and who have tried a long time; and even then not without serious cause." And this exception is to be found only in the draft of the first set of instructions. It was omitted in the following year. The Jesuits were certainly guilty of no heinous treason to their native land,[105] but they undoubtedly did transgress the religious enactments of Elizabeth's reign. As such they were declared traitors. As Meyer notes, "Since the time of Henry VIII, it was no longer unusual, in contrast to ancient and existing legal usage, to treat not merely *actions* but

98 For the continuation of the missionary zeal see Cath. Rec. Soc. *Eng. Martyrs*, V, 301-303, and *Misc.* IV, 75-129, 41-47.

99 TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, 84.

100 *An Answear of Doctor Bagshawe*, in ELY'S *Briefe Notes*, 12.

101 Reprinted in MEYER, *op. cit.*, app. xvii.

102 TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, 52, and T. G. LAW, *op. cit.*, xiv.

103 *The Month*, Jan., 1903, 69-85, Jan., 1902, 296. POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 232. MEYER, *op. cit.*, 138, 197, 295.

104 POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 292-293.

105 *Epistle of the Persecution of Catholics.*

opinions as treasonable. . . . It was not the era of religious persecution but the absolution of the crown which first called this new legal doctrine into existence.[106] Allegiance was still personal,[107] and refusal to recognize new and unheard-of assumption of spiritual power by the temporal monarch was declared treason.[108] This point must be reiterated because of the willingness of the older writers to assume "a strong moral certitude of their having been conspirators purposely sent into England to cause a revolt if possible and to procure the assassination of the Queen."[109] [110]Taunton accuses Parsons of having dealt in matters of State even in England, but Pollen emphatically contradicts this by evidence from Spanish Calendar.[111] With the removal of this suspicion, Campion's answer to the Chief Justice covers Parsons as well as his himself. "The only thing we have now to say is that if our religion do make us traitors, we are worthy to be condemned; but otherwise we have been as true subjects as ever the Queen had. In condemning us you condemn all your own ancestors. . . . For what have we taught, however, you may qualify it with the odious name of treason, that they did not uniformly teach."[112]

This brings us to the next step in Parsons' career. Again, his goal was strictly religious, but now he sought it by diplomatic rather than by missionary methods, although of course the efforts of the Jesuits and seminarists in the field continued.[113] "If it was nothing but despair of finding 'any one green leaf for Catholics,' which made even the less steady of Catholic laymen and soldiers meditate violence, it was also only the depth of Catholic suffering, endured for years, which made men of peace like Cardinal Allen, Sander and Parsons look to the intervention

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106 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 147.

107 Calvin's Case.

108 For references on the subject of treason, see MCILWAIN, *American Revolution*, 96 ff.

109 NICOLINI, *History of the Jesuits*, 164.

110 For summary of Proclamations and Statutes on the subject see MEYER, *op. cit.*, 147-154. Note FR. HOLTBY'S comments in 1594 (DODD, *Church History*, III, 83), "Two things I do note out of the very laws, whereof the one must of necessity follow: that either by them the prince is made God, or else religion is nothing with them but a mere policy."

111 *The Month*, 1902, 296.

112 Quoted in CAMM, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, 252.

113 Cath. Rec. Soc. V., 253.

of foreign foes, as the sole remedy for the unbearable ills of their country."[114] Foreign intercession was merely a potential agency for the re-establishment of the Church, and its use was endorsed by only the vigorous Papalists. It never was part of a plot by which to surrender the nation to a foreign government.

The theory underlying these efforts is contained in "A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of England," which I shall treat in the next part. The diplomacy[115] itself is wearisome and of no great importance to the political theorist except in so far as it evidences the second part of Parsons' career—diplomatic efforts to secure the establishment of the old religion.

The vigorous repression by which the Government tried to thwart the efforts of the missionaries must have led Parsons to a realization of the need of force to restore the religion. Missionary work on a sufficiently large scale was impossible in the face of Walsingham's spy service, Topcliffe's torturing examinations, and the heavy penalties for recusancy. When a priest could be executed for treason because he was found with a copy of a papal bull of jubilee, it does not seem very strange if his fellows would seek foreign intervention to enable them to fulfill the divinely ordained missionary duty for the conversion of souls.

Philip II had sponsored England in the first years of Elizabeth upon one plea or another. He had secured the postponement of the official sentence of deposition against her, and had offered himself meanwhile as her suitor. Elizabeth doubtless knew the unpopularity of such a match, and yet appreciated the value of a temporary friendship. "The chief result of Elizabeth's policy and procrastination was her immunity from the papal excommunication."[116] But even when the failure of his earlier policy became evident, Philip still felt the pressing need for an English alliance and also had come to realize the need of inter-

114 *The Month*, 1902, 44.

115 See MEYER and POLLEN, op. cit., for very clear and thorough accounts of the political manoeuvering. TAUNTON, *op. cit*, gives much information also, but with his customary bias. The Spanish State Papers constitute the main sources.

116 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 33-50; 37.

vention for the sake of Catholicism.[117] It is hard to determine whether Philip were a politician or a religious fanatic. Probably the sharp cleavage of the Elizabethan Settlement was not at first any clearer to his eyes than to the mass of Englishmen. His early conduct certainly points to inherently political motives, but this is largely explainable by his relations with France, the predominance of which nation, he had, as a patriotic monarch, to resist. Philip was therefore very careful not to take any action which would throw England into French arms, in the person of Mary Stuart, the outstanding claimant for Elizabeth's crown. As Sander wrote in 1576 with purely religious considerations in mind, "The state of Christendom depends on the stout assailing of England, and yet the King of Spain is as fearful of war as a child is of fire."[118] Philip delayed particularly in joining in with the Duke of Guise's plan to liberate Mary Stuart and set her upon the throne.[119] Hume has undoubtedly some foundation for his statement that the cause for which Philip lived was "The dominance of Catholicism for the temporal benefit of Spain."[120] Philip's motives and methods are by no means clear; but I think most English writers rather impugn his religious sincerity by a failure to appreciate his situation. At any rate, when Mary Stuart had become the victim of judicial murder, she passed her claims on to Philip because of the Protestantism of her son. Coupled, then, with other motives and provocations, Philip's long overdue contribution to the restitution of Catholicism progressed clumsily until the momentous disaster off Gravelines. This fiasco served as Philip's single actual effort; but it by no means terminated his planning for another attempt.

Was it really treason for an Englishman to support Philip's enterprises? It is this charge which Taunton constantly raises against Parsons and his party. We may well ask whether it was not more conventional and desirable for a conscientous man to prefer religion to blind and narrow patriotism. The author of the *Vindiciae* expatiates upon the unity of religion and the

117 *Ibid.*, 118, 228.

118 POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 302.

119 *Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen*, Knox, ed. Memorandum of 24 Feb., 1586, 2nd point, xxxvi.

120 HUME, *Two English Queens and Philip*, 30.

interdependence of the members of the one Church.[121] English Protestants aided the Netherlands against Philip; and it was Henry VIII who appealed to foreign universities to obtain their decrees upon his divorce.[122] Macaulay declared, "No man asked whether another belonged to the same country with himself, but whether he belonged to the same sect."[123] The full significance of nationalism had hardly been achieved. Babbitt makes the statement which offers some illumination despite the same exaggeration as the rhetoric just cited. "The Protestant religion itself, if one takes a sufficiently long-range view, appears largely as an incident in the rise of nationalism."[124] However that may be, the fact that "To his dying day William Allen was to remain convinced that the only hope for England lay in Spanish interference,"[125] establishes sufficiently the fact that such men looked to foreign intervention for the salvation of their country.

"The effects of gouernments to be considered and not the gouernours"[126] and the caption "Lytle importeth the subiect of what country his gouernour is so he be good"[127] show the thesis which these men predicated. Certainly neither is unreasonable. Professor Emerton shows how anxious medieval Italians were to avoid local bureaucracies by the use of outsiders for city government.[128] The practice of using petty princes to supply the regal element for new or kingless nations in the nineteenth century also evidences that foreign princes may be established in a country without destroying the national identity. As the *Admonition* printed to accompany the Armada declared, "Moreover be it knowen that the intention of his Holynesse, of the Kinge Catholike, and the Duke his highnesse in this enterprise go not to inuade and conquer these kingdoms; change lawes, privileges or customes; bereaue of liberty or liuelyhoode, any man (other than rebels and obstinate persons) or make mutations in any thinge, except suche as by common accorde, between his Holinesse, his Catholike Maiesty, and the states of

121 *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, 216-217.
122 DODD, *Church History*, *op. cit.*, I, 200.
123 MACAULAY, *Burleigh and His Times*, 739.
124 BABBITT, *Democracy and Leadership*, 37, 53.
125 MARTIN HAILE, *An English Cardinal*, 331.
126 *The Next Succession*, 198.
127 *Ibid.*, 200.
128 "First Parish Church," Spring, 1925.

the lande, shall be thought necessary, for the restitution and continuance of the Catholike Religion, and punishment of the usurper and his adhearents."[129] This statement of the intentions of Philip was no mere propaganda. Parsons had no reason to betray his native land into Spanish hands. Indeed, he calmly attributed the failure of the Armada to God's displeasure at Philip's treatment of the English Catholics, whom he had not trusted and respected sufficiently.[130] This ultimatum evidences no truckling subservience. Similarly, Sir Francis Englefield's deathbed letter to the Spanish king, 6 September, 1596,[131] recommends that he pay special attention to England for the sake of religion and also for the protection of Spain. But in so doing, he points to the universal opposition of European sovereigns to any attempt to gain the throne. The Infanta, on the other hand, must be put forward, and all suspicions of annexation must be removed.

Parsons seems to have counted upon the existence of a strong body of Catholics awaiting the opportunity to assert their faith freely.[132] This seems to have been a great error, for the national apostasy seems to have become well established by 1580. Also the small body of English Catholics who did persevere were unwilling to aid the Spanish king, it seems. Fr. Walpole stated[133] that he disliked Englefield's remarks on the desirability of admitting the Spaniards to restore the religion. But the Jesuits and the Spaniards had counted upon the aid of a goodly portion of the population. This is shown especially in representations to the Papacy.[134] The avowed purposes of any proposed expedition was to restore England to the obedience of the Church.[135] Aside from the expectancy of finding a large Catholic population for support,[136] we must remember that "the great fact of the day was the power of the Governor to change the belief of his sub-

129 DODD, *Church History*, III, app., xii.

130 Letter of IDIAQUEX, 4 April, 1591, in *Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen, op. cit.*

131 DODD, *Church History*, III, app. XII, p. xlix.

132 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 293.

133 Cath. Rec. Soc. V. "English Martyrs," 1584-1603, p. 256.

134 *Letters of Allen, op. cit.*, ci.

135 *Letters of Allen, op. cit.*, L xxv ff., memorandum 24 Feb., 1586.

136 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 293.

jects."[137] Parsons seems to have recognized this in his attending primarily to the rich,[138] as the nucleus of the reconversion. For we must not forget that Parsons looked forward to the reconversion rather than the conquest of England.

Meanwhile Elizabeth had used the Established Church to bolster her own position,[139] Robert Cecil had managed his ship of state so effectively[140] that England's great religious revolution had occurred without foreign invasion for almost twenty years while her two continental rivals were check-mating each other. Lord Burley may have been anti-French primarily, but it was by skilfully playing France off against Philip that England was allowed to work her persecution without foreign invasion. Elizabeth's encouragement of the suit of the Duke of Anjou in 1587[141] well indicates her constant policy of carrying her diplomacy into Europe to forestall any move against her kingdom.

The Rising of the North in 1569[142] had been a loose conspiracy of some of the older aristocracy. It was not a great religious rebellion. Its failure served considerably to check any possible effort to carry out the bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, which arrived shortly after the suppression of the revolt. Mary Stuart's unfortunate mishaps and especially the possible ill repute which clouded her, even in the eyes of the persecuted English Catholics, both contributed to Elizabeth's strength.

France had been the center of a pro-Elizabethan party even in Mary's day.[143] Opposition to Spain was a large factor. Parsons opposed Alençon's suit, probably from a suspicion of French motives and conduct. The home of Gallicanism and the Politiques could hardly have been expected to furnish thorough going soldiers for the Church, even though individuals like Bellarmine could be found. Bodin's refusal to heed the plea that he intercede for Campion[144] is a good index to the considerations which must have influenced Parsons. In fact, Parsons' anti-French

137 SIMPSON, *op. cit.*, 153.
138 TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, 62.
139 KLINE, *Persecution in the Reign of Elizabeth*, 34, 127, cp.
140 HUME, *The Great Lord Burley*, 97.
141 POLLEN, *op. cit.*, 397.
142 BIRT, *op. cit.*, 475-501.
143 HUME, *Two English Queens and Philip*, 137-138.
144 Cath. Rec. Soc., *Miscl.* II, 183.

principles are evidence of a clear-eyed zeal for a perfect restoration of Catholicism, rather than of any ingrained partiality for Spain.

Similarly do charges of his anti-Scottish activity for mere love of Spain fall to the ground. It was natural enough for Philip to demur at laboring for the establishment of James Stuart upon the English Throne, and Olivares seems to have used sharp practice in his negotiations with the Pope in 1586.[145] Sixtus V very plainly expected to have a Catholic sovereign established by Philip II, and not to have Philip himself assume the Crown.[146] Parsons showed himself eager for the safety of James Stuart in 1583 when the Duke of Lennox constituted a dominating Catholic influence upon the young monarch.[147] In that year, Parsons secured a pension from Pope Gregory for a body guard for the king.[148] And it is noteworthy in view of the frequent assertions of Parsons' personal aggressiveness that he urged that Father Matthieu or some Scotchman be sent as superior to Scotland rather than himself, because of his unfamiliarity with the people there.[149] I think that it is clear that Parsons was sincere, not only in disavowing all connection with the Gunpowder Plot,[150] but in pointing out the incompatibility of praising Elizabeth at the same time as James I, in view of the history of Mary Stuart—"for it is impossible that one heaven should hold both these Queens, in life and beliefe so quite opposite."[151]

Robert Parsons undoubtedly staked his hopes upon the accession of the Infanta. James I, as we know, peacefully attained the throne.[152] Parsons then attempted to emphasize his perdilection for James.[153] Catholics had expected to attain toleration from the son of Mary Stuart. As Garnet wrote on 16 April, 1603,[154] "Great fears were; but all are turned into greatest security;

145 *Letters of Allen, op. cit., Memorandum,* lxxvi-lxxvii.

146 MEYER, *op. cit.,* 320 and app. xx.

147 Cp. *Letters of Allen,* lii. Note also HUME, *Two English Queens and Philip,* 407, ff.

148 *Cath. Rec. Soc.,* IV, iii.

149 *Ibid.,* 145.

150 *Answer to Barlow,* Preface, 72-73.

151 *Ibid.,* par. 116.

152 TAUNTON, *op. cit.,* 274-284.

153 Cp. correspondence with GARNET, in DODD. *Church History,* IV, lxv.

154 *Ibid.,* lxiv.

and a golden time we have of unexpected freedom abroad. . . . Great hope is of toleration; and so general a consent of Catholics in his proclaiming, as it seemeth God will work much." And he asks that there should be no foreign efforts against James. The Pope strove patiently "to try what may be done by fayre means with him,"[155] while other Princes awaited the outcome. The fruitlessness of these conciliatory efforts is known, and the last phase of Parsons' life is concerned with a polemic with James I concerning the Oath of Allegiance.

Professor McIlwain stresses the importance of James' "partial translation into law of what Elizabeth's ministers had practised by holding the law in obeyance."[156] The Oath of Allegiance[157] stirred up great perplexity. The Archpriest Blackwell himself consented to take it "as it lay in a certain sense" to the great scandal of the faithful, and to his own immediate deprivation. The question was put to the Pope who decided "that the whole Oath as it lay could not be admitted with the integrity of the Catholike Faith." Catholics unanimously longed for toleration and even sought to secure permission to hold services legally by compounding the Recusancy fines.[158] The refusal to grant this toleration shows the uncompromising attitude of the secular state to purely religious activity, for no accusations of domestic or foreign danger would be raised to such a petition as this. McIlwain quotes Bellarmine's concise statement, "To take this oath non tam jurari fidelitatem ad Regem, quam objurari fidelitatem ad Christi Vicarium."[159] Consequently Catholics could not take James' Oath of Allegiance.

This brief survey of the diplomatic efforts to secure the reestablishment of the Catholic Religion in England has shown, I hope, that the object of the Jesuits was consistently religious. Their weakness lay somewhat in the very anxiety to support any possible agency for that end. Parsons tended to bank primarily upon Spain. We now see the futility of this effort, but I do not see why we should blame Parsons for this error in judgment

155 *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, II, 217, 314.
156 McIlwain, *op. cit.*, xlix.
157 *Answer to Barlow*, 50.
158 *Ibid.*, 252.
159 McIlwain, *op. cit.*, lxi.

when Creighton also erred in the other direction, expecting at least toleration under James. The Pope constantly tried to effect reconciliation and cannot be accused of having attempted to hand England over to Spain. The error had been made, if at all, in not declaring bluntly the fact of Elizabeth's usurpation upon her accession to the throne. But even then sincere efforts for conciliation merely subjected England to the wiles of Elizabeth while the cause of religion suffered.

We now come to the consideration of Fr. Parsons' political theories. Like other philosophers, Parsons is significant rather for the new application of ideas long prevalent than for the novelty of his concepts. Really new ideas are seldom to be found, but the application of the old concepts to new conditions is the process which keeps political theory fresh and seemingly inexhaustible. St. Thomas' virtual discovery and publication of Aristotelian philosophy to the Middle Ages was perhaps more momentous and influential than the original enunciation, for the conception of the πολιτεία was used by Church and State theorists in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries more effectively than it could have been in Greece and Rome when the city state which had conditioned it vanished so abruptly. Parsons himself was a controversialist rather than a pure theorist. He labored like the parish priest in the vineyard itself, participating in the toil even while directing the efforts of others. He did not live a secluded life engaged in the sole occupation of formulating political structures. He wrote no great systematic philosophy, therefore, and yet the consecutiveness of his thought wrought uniformity to his teachings. I have already indicated the substance of his doctrines in passing, and have explained particularly his attitude upon toleration. In Parts II and III following, I shall present his political theories. The keynote necessary for their understanding is the great fact that they were all written for the sole purpose of re-establishing the Catholic Church in England.

B. F. WIESMAN,
Essex, Mass.

(To be continued)

AMERICA—A LAND OF DESTINY*

There is a bright little island on Europe's westmost verge, whose name was wont in recent happy days to bring a smile to the lips and a song to the heart, and which from of old the poets named the Island of Destiny, Innisfail.

That little island, Innisfail, is not of course the subject of this paper, but the name may serve to suggest a study of our own land, America, which early voyagers hitherward used to designate Irland it Mikla, Greater Ireland. The old Norse vikings in various of their sagas make mention of a wide expanse of territory to the south of Vinland the Good to which they gave the name of Greater Ireland, in token, let us hope, that it was destined to prove some day a greater Innisfail than the little island of saints and scholars beyond the Atlantic.

Ireland's destiny is not hidden among the mysteries of the future. It stands out luminous in the records of the past. There was first of all a golden age when all the island rang with child-like praise of God and Mary, when half the people were consecrated to the virgin life, and when every foot of ground entombed a saint. Then came an iron age, when rack and sword and pike sent up to heaven an army of Christian martyrs whose numbers are known to the omniscient God alone. In our day its destiny is clear as the sun and the moon and the stars in the heavens: this is the age of apostles. From Armagh to Baltimore, from Los Angeles to Auckland, from Melbourne to Manila, from Zanzibar to Sierra Leone, from the Cape of Good Hope to Riga, aye, from the right hand of the chair of Peter, the sons of Innisfail are the heralds of the pure and true gospel: verily, their sound has gone forth to the ends of the earth.[1] Is America to be Irland it Mikla, a Greater Ireland?

Every land, like every man, has a mission here on earth, a divinely chosen work to do. We, Catholics of America, are not of those whose souls have failed to say: "This is my own, my

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1 The bishops of the Sees named, all natives of Ireland, except the last, who is surely entitled to special notice, were, according to the Annuario Pontificio for 1924, Curley, Cantwell, Clearly, Mannix, O'Doherty, Neville, O'Gorman, McSherry and Rooney, and O'Rourke.

native land"; and, no doubt, the question has often presented itself—just as that of our personal vocations—what is the destiny of America? To Catholics nothing happens by chance. High in heaven we see the "Mystic Weaver" sitting at his loom, bringing out of warp and woof the future of nations as of men, throwing his shuttle to and fro that in the outcome, after all the rattling and wild confusion, his divine design may be unfolded in a tapestry of living history, glorious beyond all human fancy; and we cannot fail to ask what is to be America's place and part in the splendid production.

It is conspicuous that in the fabric of the events that make up the story of our nation's past there are threads standing out here and there and everywhere that seem of divine texture; facts that we may, in all reverence, attribute to special rulings of a loving Providence. Let us in a necessarily hasty glance over the chief topics of our history stop at those great moments, critical periods, when life manifested itself intensely, vibratingly, as we may say, reaching from the heights to the depths: we should be able to witness there multiplied indications of foreordained destiny.

The story of America happily begins with Christopher Columbus, a man whose personal character was as admirable as his achievement was magnificent; one of the giants of all time. He was one of the few men who fully realized that he lived to fulfil an eternal counsel, and he bent every power of all his wonderful energies to attain its accomplishment. It was no accident that he bore the name Columbus. We know that God chose the name of Abraham, and made him what that name signifies, the father of a multitude; so He also chose the name of Peter for the man who was to be the Rock foundation of the church; and so He named others who were to figure largely in the workings out of His dispositions in world government. It would have been an exception, if the person who was destined to change the course of human events, as was Columbus, were not given a name indicative of his work. It was no chance that he who was to bear back the olive branch of peace and hope, the announcement of the finding of dry land to the peoples crowded in the little ark of Europe, was named Columbus, the dove. It did not wait for us to point out this significance in his name. It was engraved dur-

ing his lifetime on the chains that bound his limbs, and his son, Ferdinand, dwells at length on the wonder of it in the life of his father.

The significance of the name Christopher however is far more exuberantly rich in meaning than Columbus; Christopher, the Christ-bearer. Columbus well knew this and appreciated it. He made that name his autograph, writing it Christo-ferens so as to bring out the full meaning, surmounting it with the initials of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph.

There was an old legend, or piece of folklore, that used to tell of a giant, St. Christopher, who devoted his life to carrying wayfarers across a wide and dangerous stream. His goodness finally merited that he should carry a burden more than mortal man might bear, the Child-Jesus Himself with his cross. How much more deeply the simple allegory brings out the full meaning of the career of Christopher Columbus than the soulless facts as they are tabulated in many a modern history! We have some learned tomes, written by men acclaimed for scholarship, that make no mention of the fact that Columbus was a Christ-bearer. With this omitted, there is no Columbus; for the driving force of his whole career is wanting.

It is usually stated that America was discovered on October 12, 1492, when the little caravels of Columbus weighed anchor at Guanahani. This is only partly true; if accepted as the whole truth, it is erroneous. For America was not discovered in a day. It was the years of Columbus' patient waiting, his rebuffs at court, his studious nights, his weary wanderings, his disappointments, his heartaches, all nobly endured; it was the Christ-child with His cross borne on the tall shoulders of Columbus that opened the way to the New World. Not in one glad moment when the strands of the Bahamas lay before his delighted vision, but through all the long dull years while the brave Genoese carried his frustrated hopes with Christian fortitude, he was discovering America.

We may admit that America was found on scores of occasions, if we wish, before the days of Columbus: this detracts nothing from the glory of his achievement. If America was found many times, it had yet but one discoverer. There can be little doubt that the ancients, even before the time of Christ,

knew of the Western world. Readers of De Roo's learned volumes will know that it is more than likely that the Irish carried on a regular trade with America in the seventh and earlier centuries.[2] The Welsh Prince Madoc may in very truth have taken up his abode in our hemisphere, even if we cannot prove it. No one doubts that the Norsemen came down from Greenland and settled for a time on our northeastern coasts in the eleventh century. It is claimed that the Basque and Breton fishermen, seeking for whale in the wild Atlantic, were frequenting Labrador and even Cape Cod Bay when Columbus was first petitioning aid for his hazardous undertaking at the court of Portugal; and that John of Kolno, a Pole, had certainly reached America in 1474. A Japanese junk, with living persons in it, is blown yearly to our northwest coast. But neither the Carthagenians, nor the Celts, nor the Norsemen, nor the Basques, nor the Pole, nor the Japanese discovered America. Their knowledge was their own; it was not civilization's. The Genoese Christ-bearer by his pleadings at the capitals of Europe awakened the interest of the centers of knowledge in his project; he erected, as it were, a series of electric arc lamps at every court of Europe and at every seat of learning, that though black and dull at first, broke forth at once on his return into a flame of brilliant knowledge in whose light civilization saw that there was a great land out in the west. America was uncovered, discovered, by the Christ-bearer. See him standing on his deck; the wide sails of his ship spread above him like the wings of a protecting genius. This ship is the Santa Maria. It was the outspread arms of Mary that protected him in his daring venture into the unknown world. When the cross is being carried Mary is sure to be near.

The earliest islands found—the first fruits—were devoted to the Savior of the world, and named, the first San Salvador, and the second in honor of Mary Immaculate, Conception. All good men to-day regret that the new world was not given Columbus' worthy name. One small island was called in honor of his patron, St. Christopher. But those men, who in the name of a religious reformation, changed the name of San Salvador to Cat

2 Rev. P. DeRoo: *History of America before Columbus*, Phila. 1900. By far the most erudite work yet published on Precolumbian America.

Island, and Conception to Rum Bay, transformed St. Christopher to St. Kitts, and would no doubt with similar impiety have mutilated the name of Columbia had it been in possession at their coming. It is well that that generation of Columbus' successors here were ignorant of the fact that our hemisphere bears the name of one of God's humble saints, the patron of Amerigo Vespucci; Amerigo or Emeric, whose name means self-government, Liberty. Such is the truth. A young priest, Waldseemueller, suggested that the new world might well be called America, and neither his own early change of mind, nor the efforts of kings, was able to undo a work so mysteriously well done as that of naming the new world with a name that means liberty.[3]

This is the first chapter of our history. Let us see what we have found; that without the design of any man our land was named America in honor of one of God's saints, Emeric or Amerigo, who died rich in merits in far off Hungary, but whose name means Self-government or Liberty; that a Christ-bearer discovered the land; that he found it through the cross; that the arms of Mary protected him in his work. Surely the new-born land, over which heaven has taken such care, given such tutelage, is meant for glorious days.

. . . . . .

After reciting the period of discovery all books of history carry the student on to that of exploration and colonization. Let us examine whether there is anything in this second chapter that points to a special Providence over the new world; and let us limit our investigation to the region that constitutes the continental United States.

Following received methods we must take our start at Jamestown, Virginia, with Captain John Smith in 1607. All the school histories take a slight backward glance from this date to tell of the futile efforts made by Sir Walter Raleigh; but not one of them, not even those in use in Catholic schools, makes the slightest reference to the Catholic colony that was established on the very site of Jamestown eighty-one years before 1607. This early settlement numbered 600 souls, a population that was possibly

3 The writer amplified this point in *America*, January 4, 1919, under the title: "America, the Origin of the Name."

never again gathered at the spot. Is its omission owing to the fact that the colony was not permanent? Raleigh's settlements were never permanent. In fact, no Jamestown settlement was ever permanent; the place is only a graveyard to-day. We mention Raleigh to make history interesting; and perhaps because—like cold blooded murderers generally—he was so good a hater of such agents of justice as old Catholic Spain. But there was a man in that earlier colony whose life-story should at least prove as interesting. Then too in that colony, on that site, the Holy Sacrifice was first offered up, so far as we can indicate, within the limits of the original American states; and this perhaps by the man of whom we speak. There were two Dominican priests in that colony; one of whom was Anthony Montesinos. Anthony Montesinos issued the first Emancipation Proclamation in the new world. The presence of this man in Virginia, in the very heart of what was later to be the slave states, is so striking a contrast and coincidence that no true story of Virginia can be considered complete without its mention. It is not to be inferred that this proclamation was a simple statement, a mere speech, a casual or negligible fact. It was an epoch-making event that stirred the world of that day.

The enslavement of the native races began early in our nation's history. Its advocates were often good men, and they had arguments that were unanswerable, certainly justifying the practice to some slight extent. It were better, they said, to be a slave to a civilized man than to be debased by such ignorance and brutality as render one a devourer of his fellows. This might indeed justify the capture and enslavement of cannibals for a time. But within twenty years after Columbus' landfall, enslavement of the Indians had become general, and was an established and profitable business. Anthony Montesinos and three other sons of St. Dominic saw the evil, and determined to cry out to the powers of earth and heaven against it. Montesinos prepared an expostulation which his brethren all signed. They knew the danger they were incurring. Montesinos then proclaimed his views before an auditory that included the niece of King Ferdinand, and Diego Columbus, and the chief profiteers of the slave trade. An outcry was raised at once. It stirred the

old world as well as the new. Montesinos crossed the ocean to defend himself. The Pope, at this early date, issued a Bull against the traffic in human beings; but notwithstanding the Bull of the Pope and the good will of King Ferdinand, the struggle continued until all the Dominicans who had signed that document sealed their profession with their blood. We have no certainty of the nature or the details of the death of Montesinos. The old records of his monastery in Salamanca merely write after his name the one great word: martyr. It seems that he was slain by the Indians themselves, who imagined all Spaniards slave hunters. If this is so, his death was more Christlike in that he was slain by those whom he loved. One cannot but reflect what might have been the history of Virginia and of the whole of America, if our schools had placed the picture of Montesinos liberating the slaves in that prominent and conspicuous place that they gave to the dubious story of the rescue of John Smith by Pocahontas.[4]

This narration of the overlooking of Montesinos might seem a tale of defeated destiny and hence quite contrary in its indications to the idea running through this paper; but let it be remarked that, in the first place, he will not always be forgotten; and, again, that he has been introduced precisely as one of the defeated; this second chapter of our paper is one of martyrs. *Io victis;* the martyrs fall, but win the only victory worthy of the name. The period of exploration and colonization of America was one far more fruitful in martyrdom than is generally known. If the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christianity, then indeed the period at which we have arrived is replete with rich promise for the glory of our land.

The first in the bede roll of the martyrs on American soil (I mean within the limits of the United States) was not a son of St. Dominic but of St. Francis. In the spring of 1541 there came across our borders from Mexico a strange cavalcade under the leadership of Francisco Coronado: horses with great high saddles; mules and burrows with picks and axes in gay colored panniers; heavy bearded Spaniards belted with knives; carts,

4 For Montesinos, see SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church*, I, p. 101. The bull referred to is that of Paul III, dated May 29, 1537.

camp followers, dogs, and wild-eyed Indians, with the high-blooded youth of Spain

"Seeking kingdoms that were told
To be paved with solid gold
In the kingdom of Quivira."

For one hundred and eight days they marched towards what is to-day the very heart of the United States. They passed over the Sierras, through the Rio Grande, the Cimarron and the Arkansas, across the arid deserts where many an American in modern times has perished of thirst, until they came at last into the valley of the Missouri. An American Army officer several years ago attempted to map the route followed by this early expedition and concluded that its final resting place was near the present Fort Riley, Kansas. A monument has been erected at that place commemorating the event. Later historians locate the terminus of Coronado's journey elsewhere but in the same general neighborhood. There is another monument at Fort Riley, or very near it, indicating that here is the central point of the continental United States; that this point is equidistant from our northern and southern and from our eastern and western boundaries. Coronado sought for gold, and failed to appreciate the marvelous richness of the soil beneath his boots, which now sends forth in golden grain an output of wealth compared to which all the gold of Mexico is slight. One man in his party saw with truer vision. It was not metal nor grain that caught his gaze. He saw a mintage that bore upon its face the image of the King of Heaven; souls, immortal souls looked from the eyes even of the savages here neglected and deserted. Coronado turned back to Mexico, a disgraced and broken-hearted man, but John, the son of St. Francis, with a little band of strange companions, determined to make his home in Kansas and bring salvation to these nations sitting in darkness. Before three years were passed, on November 30th, 1544, he was slain by those he served; his companions obeying his orders fled, and they brought back to Mexico the announcement of the death of Fr. Juan de Padilla, who is America's proto-martyr. It took them years of wandering through savage tribes to reach civilization with the news. The knowledge of Padilla's death

was slow in reaching the world; it has been slow in reaching us. God is never in a hurry; but in the ages to come the man-loving soul of this true son of Francis of Assisi, who poured out his blood on the altar-stone of our country will be honored with the acclaim of the church.[5]

Look at the map of the continental United States. Who can fail to marvel at the spot from which, in the Providence of God, the first martyr's blood was to cry out for mercy on this land: the exact middle point of the nation! In 1544, two generations before the settlement of Jamestown, our earliest English colony on the Atlantic slope, Juan de Padilla's blood fell like a seal upon the very heart of the future nation, claiming it for Christ and His church. If it is true that nothing occurs by mere chance, how shall we interpret the fact that God willed that the first American martyr shall fall in this extraordinary place?

Few of us realize in how many strange and unexpected corners and how abundantly the blood of martyrs, the seed of the church, has fallen throughout our land. In the morning twilight of the New World, before the enemy had come upon the field, the sowers of this goodly seed planted for rich wide harvests. Twenty-two Franciscan priests, with three brothers and one hundred and eighty of their flock lay down their lives in one harvest moon of 1680. Just across the river from where I write, at Cahokia, it is written that Father Gaston, of whom we can know little else than his name, was slain by the savages he came to bless. Father Saint Cosme ministered there at Cahokia also. He too was slain but further down the river. He was a native of Quebec. The St. Louis University treasures an old altar-stone from the mission among the Kaskaskias. If the date that used to be upon it is correct, it is possible that both these secular priests offered up the Holy Sacrifice upon this stone, as the central altar piece, as did also the Franciscan Ribourde, who was killed by the Kickapoos on the Illinois River in 1680, and the Jesuit martyrs, Gravier, Binneteau, Senat, Souel, and Sebastian Rale, all of whom except the last, came to

5 *The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Am. Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 470, gives the original documents of Coronado's expedition. BANDELIER, in the *Am. Cath. Quarterly* for 1890, p. 551 goes into greater detail concerning Father de Padilla.

their death in this part of America. Father Rale was slain, not by the Indians, but by the Puritans of New England.

Only a few years ago one of the Jesuit Fathers over in France was giving a mission in one of the out-of-the-way villages of that land. One of the townsmen calling on him said: "We have some old letters at home written by a Jesuit of our family, Père Aulneau, who was killed in America about two hundred years ago." With these letters and some other documents, a group of Canadian scholastics and priests undertook to seek the remains of this martyr. We unenthusiastic persons might think such a quest quixotic. The documents told how the priest had accompanied an expedition of LaVerendrye, which is famous in history as having been the first company of white men to have looked upon the northern Rockies. But the Jesuit did not get that far. Having separated from the main cavalcade with a foraging party of some twenty trappers, he and they were surprised and slain by the savages. The natives cut off the heads of all their victims save two, the priest Aulneau and young LaVerendrye, son of the general leader of the expedition. The priest had been killed by an arrow that pierced his skull. The Canadian searching party of scholastics and priests actually succeeded in finding the remains of a group of bodies, of the exact number they were seeking; the heads of all but two had been severed, and an arrow was imbedded in the skull of one of these two. There could be no doubt but that this last was Father Aulneau.

Attention is called to this case in consideration of the site of the discovery, as illustrating in what unaccountable parts of the land the martyrs fell. This was in the United States just in that only little point of Minnesota that reaches above the 49° parallel of latitude. At the request of Archbishop Ireland, the U. S. Government set the place aside as a park to be known as Aulneau Park.

This whole land is Christ's. No hidden spot or cranny upon which He has not set his seal! We tread on holy ground. I sympathize, insofar, with those people among us, who place the dust of Palestine upon their dead before interment. But to Catholics, all our land has become Palestine, for the martyrs of Christ have made it a Holy Land.

Who that thinks can prevent himself from looking upon this nation—stretching out from ocean to ocean—but as the floor of a vast cathedral under which the martyrs' relics sleep; the heavens above is the vault and dome; the veins of gold and precious metals are its ornaments; the quarries of granite and marble its entablatures; the forests' fruits and flowers its decoration, and the great wide plains, deep with greenest vegetation, its carpet! The central altar stone (as in St. Peter's at Rome) is in the very middle, but on every side a myriad of chapels invite to prayer. Already from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof God's name is great among the gentiles, and there is everywhere offered up a clean oblation to the Lord of hosts, the Immaculate Lamb, and the martyrs beneath the altar stone cry out: "How long, Oh Lord, until sweetly Thou avenge our blood with the destruction of wickedness and the conversion of this Thy land to Thee?"

The second chapter is done; that of exploration and colonization. Nothing has been said of Maryland, for the reason that its story is so well known, and no effort was made to secure completeness. Nothing was said of Lord Plowden's Catholic colony.[6] No reference was made to the supposed Catholicity of Edward Maria Wingfield, the first president of the Jamestown settlement,[7] or of Miles Standish of Mayflower fame.[8] This chapter was intended to be one of martyrdom. For therein is Catholic destiny. The martyrs are the soldier saints; they are the van, and, where they lead, the army of the gentle white robed virgins and the happy multitude of confessors follow. Rome is Rome, and the Rock whereon the cornerstone of the church is resting, because of the noble martyrs who in the first days of Christianity made the cement of that church's mystic structure of their life blood. It must mean much in the destiny of America that it too has had its martyrs to lead the way for those who are to come.

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6 "New Jersey Colonized by Catholics," by DR. R. L. BURTSELL in the Catholic *World* XXXII, p. 204, is the story of Plowden's colony. See also WINSOR, *Hist. of America*, III, p. 457.

7 The most recent *Britannica* and the *International Encyclopedia*, under the word, Wingfield, speak as if there were no doubt that Wingfield was a Catholic. Most Catholic scholars however have their doubts.

8 Miles Standish—"Was he a Catholic," see *Cath. World*, XXIII, p. 668.

The third great moment in America's annals was the War of Independence. The Freedom of America from thraldom to Europe was an event in the progress of the world of scarcely less importance than the discovery of a new hemisphere. It was given to the sons of our holy Mother, the church, to make the first and the second chapter of our history, and to perfect the work of this third; that is, they discovered America, they consecrated its soil with the pouring out of their lives, and it was through their valor that the nation come into existence. Spain found America; her sons with those of France dyed our soil with heavenly hues; and France cut the shackles that bound us in servitude: France set us free.

This claim for France may seem too strong. Possibly it is. Possibly the effort to swing the great pendulum of truth back from the false position in which it now hangs is carrying us a little too far to the other side. Judge for yourselves. Hear the argument.

No doubt you remember the Maine. I take it for granted that your recollections of the Cuban War of Independence need no refurbishing. The similarity between that struggle of recent date and our American fight for freedom is striking. No one among us thinks of denying that the United States secured the freedom of Cuba. It is just as true that France secured the liberty of the United States. It may be true that we ought to add an explanation when we claim that we won freedom for Cuba; but do we ever do so? Why then should it be necessary to add a qualification when it is said that France won us our liberty?

The Cubans themselves fought many battles, and struggled and starved for long, bitter years in the cause of liberty before the United States went on its "humanitarian mission" to that island. It should seem that the credit of final victory ought to be given to those early combatants. But in fact, it is not so given in our literature, because the Americans were instrumental in winning the final and decisive battle at Santiago. But there was another Santiago in the war for our freedom. It was at Yorktown, Virginia. The parity of the two situations is perfect. At Santiago there were two battles; the more im-

portant of which was on the sea. At Yorktown there were two battles also if the land fight deserves to be called a battle. Here the troops had nothing to do but to close in on the enemy. The American soldiers made but one attack in which their loss was eight killed and thirty-three wounded; its success or failure had little or nothing to do with the final issue. Yes, they had to resist also an attempt of the British to escape. In this however there is another point of similarity between Yorktown and Santiago. The English began to wade across the York River by night; they ran into an American and a French division which were placed there in anticipation of just such a sortie. A contemporary French account of the cowardice and general poltroonry of the American soldiers on this occasion is only equalled by the accounts our men gave of the same virtues of the Cubans in like circumstances. All probably did their best, but men are human everywhere. As at Santiago, the important battle was on the water, so at Yorktown, when the French fleet had driven off the English squadron, the field was won. As at Santiago, there were no Cubans in the naval engagement, so at Yorktown the really decisive battle of the American Revolutionary War was fought at sea without the participation of a single American. A comparison of the numbers engaged will at once indicate the relative importance of the forces at sea and on land at Yorktown. The English had 21 sail, with 1,694 cannon; the French went out to meet them with 24 sail carrying 1,826 guns. Some of the English ships were larger however than any of the French. The French had 23,000 men on board their ships; the number of the English has never been exactly obtained but it could not have been less than 20,000. Now turn to the land, Cornwallis had 7,349 troops; Washington and Rochambeau had about 15,000. According to Senate Document, Vol. 32, No. 537, 59th Congress, 1st session, 9,848 of these were French.[9] That is, there were at the battle of Yorktown more than 32,000

9 The best work on Yorktown is the Senate Document referred to. There it is clear that Rochambeau started to Yorktown from North England with 4,756 troops; presently a convoy gives him an additional 690; next St. Simon brings from the West Indies (p. 424), 3,600; and finally De Grasse loaned to the land forces 800 men. Thus it is clear that the French on land at Yorktown totalled 9,848 troops. ADMIRAL MAHAN: *The Influence of Sea Power on History*, tells us (p. 399) that both before and after Yorktown, Washington knew that America's cause had to be won on the sea.

French combatants, and about 6,000 Americans; let us say, with most of our historians, 9,000; it is in every way conspicuous that it was a French victory. A singular feature of that battle was the presence there of so many Catholic priests. We have the names of the 72 chaplains of the French navy; the French army also had its chaplains but the names of only four or five have reached us. A battle blessed with the presence of so many of God's ministers could scarcely be other than momentous in its outcome. There never was any other battle on this continent in which so many priests took part. Leaving the French for a moment, let it be observed that in our little American army Catholics were present out of all proportion to their population in the American colonies. "Congress's Own" was there—the nucleus of the American regular army, which on this occasion was almost wholly made up of Catholic Canadian troops. The Maryland and Pennsylvania lines were also there in which Catholics furnished a large contingent. When the news of Yorktown reached Paris a great Catholic Thanksgiving was celebrated; the King ordered a triumphant *Te Deum* sung for the success won—his proclamation read—"over the English by the armies of his Most Christian Majesty, with those of General Washington." When the news reached Philadelphia the American Congress went to a Mass of thanksgiving at St. Mary's Church. At four different times that Congress of America attended services in St. Mary's Catholic Church; the country has never been in such danger since then, and no other Congress has rivaled this record of Catholic piety.

There was another item in the Yorktown victory that must not be overlooked. Gratitude should ever keep its memory fresh. On the way to Yorktown, Washington's soldiers were clamorous for pay. The General was seriously frightened. But at the very climax of his dismay, half a million dollars arrived from France, the first installment of six million which the French king had lately collected for the more vigorous prosecution of the war. The interesting point is how the King secured this splendid sum. One may search many volumes of American history without finding a solution. The monarch had already spent a large amount in the American campaign, and his people

were no more in love with taxation than the remainder of humankind. At this juncture he made an appeal to the clergy of the nation, asking them to surrender their salaries and so supply him with the needed sum. The representatives of the clergy met and deliberated on the matter for a considerable time: the request was unusual, and in every way extraordinary. Yet when it came to the ballot it was found that there was not a single vote against the motion, and thus six millions of dollars went from the slim emoluments of the priests of France to assist our despairing Continentals. One may be better able to realize the timeliness as well as the preciousness of this donation if he recall that at this period the American money had so depreciated in value that one dollar in French coin was worth seventy-four dollars of the continental currency. At this rate the six million contributed by the Catholic clergy of France was equivalent to $444,000.000. A grateful people can never permit oblivion to enshroud so wonderful a benefaction.[10]

It is well known that when at Yorktown the British officer came forward to surrender, he very naturally offered his sword to Rochambeau. Here is the first item in which a dissimilarity appears between Yorktown and Santiago. Rochambeau, who might justly have claimed the victory, refused the sword and ordered it given to the American commander. The whole plan of the Yorktown campaign was of Rochambeau's devising. Washington well realized the truth, and requested him to assume command, but that old son of the chivalry of Catholic France steadily refused. All honor to Washington and his brave six thousand men who stood the inactive winter of Valley Forge, the fiercest foe of brave men; but all honor too to Rochambeau and DeGrasse and their 32,000 who have never been duly accredited for their devotion to our cause.

Will it not now be admitted that if the United States may be said to have freed Cuba, then in just the same sense, France may be said to have freed the United States? To Spain, when her catholicity was her life, this nation owes her birth, her issuance from the womb of time; to old Catholic France, her emancipa-

10 On this $6,000,000, see GRIFFIN *Researches*, XXVI, p. 49.

tion from servitude to a foreign state, her individuality among the nations.

In connection with the Revolution, events of a local nature that need a loving Providence for proper explanation may arise to minds of many of us. Let me cite just one; it concerns this city of St. Louis, where I write, but I think it will prove generally interesting. At that time this city, and everything west of the Mississippi belonged to Spain, although the people in this vicinity were almost all of French or Canadian descent.

There used to be a tradition, that lingered long among the oldest of St. Louis inhabitants, which told how, during the Revolution, the British had sent out a force to destroy St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve and all the Spanish towns along the Mississippi. In fact in memory of the affair the year 1780 was referred to very commonly as *l'année du grand coup*—the year of the terrible attack. The tradition went on to say that on the Feast of Corpus Christi, the British force with its Indian allies approached St. Louis by stealth, and that it met a long line of citizens in a procession following the priest who was carrying the Blessed Sacrament; that some of the attacking party came so near that they were almost tread upon; and finally that a hatchet was found later in these fields with the name Calve cut into its handle. This Calve had been a fur trader hereabout, until a monopoly of that business seemed to have been granted to Laclede, when, thinking himself dispossessed, he retired in great displeasure. He was now the leader, in England's pay, sent to destroy Laclede's settlement, St. Louis.

For some mysterious reason the enemy did not attack on the Feast of Corpus Christi, when the citizenry of St. Louis was unprepared, unsuspecting. But the following day a disordered onslaught was made which the warned people stoutly resisted, not however without the loss of more lives than America lost at Yorktown. Judge Wilson Primm, one of St. Louis's early scholars, collected these traditions from the oldest citizens of his day and wove them into a beautiful oration which happily has been preserved. Western historians of the next generation laughed at Primm's magnification of a simple Indian raid into an event of national importance.

They laughed too soon. When the manuscripts of General Haldimand of Revolutionary days in Quebec were given to the public, it became manifest that Primm and the old traditions were substantially correct. There one may see the British orders for the destruction of the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi, and the accounts of the leaders in the attack.[11] In one curious item the documents of General Haldimand and the tradition differed very widely. The tradition made Calve the leader of the expedition which was to burn and destroy. But in the documents Calve receives the blame for the failure of the attempt; it appears that at the last moment he became repentant, and disorganized the carefully prepared plan. The question now arises, what was it that caused Calve to throw down his hatchet and withhold the savages from attacking the defenseless procession, when success was so easy and so certain? We may well believe that, although resentment against a rival trader might drive him to an adverse side in a war, he was yet unprepared to meet such an army and such a Leader as that he saw marching out to meet him. Calve was a Catholic, as were some bands of his Indian allies. How could he attack the Blessed Sacrament? If this theory in explanation of his change of mind is right then it was none other than Our Blessed Lord himself in the Blessed Sacrament which saved the little city of St. Louis from the flames, the war-whoop and the scalping knife on the Feast of Corpus Christi, 1780. God saved the infant city on that occasion from the designs of wickedness, and God had designs in doing so.

Speaking of the city named St. Louis brings to mind an outstanding fact of general American history. We are a nation of cities. It is not without His will that our cities bear the names they do. The greatest city in the New World,—should we say in the whole world?—changed its name from New Amsterdam to York in honor of that Duke of York and Albany, who as James II, was the last openly professed Catholic to sit as England's sovereign, and who lost his throne, and, for a time his reputation, for his ardent Catholicity. Chicago bears the name of an Indian chief who almst lost his life for the faith. Of course no name can be more Catholic than Philadelphia—Brotherly

11 See *Michigan Pioneer Collection*, IX, pp. 558 and 568.

Love. This metropolis of Missouri and of the Mississippi Valley bears the brightest name that ever belonged beneath a golden crown. Boston means St. Botolph's town, and it is another curious coincidence that the Battle of Bunker Hill occurred on St. Botolph's feast day. Sault Ste. Marie, Marquette, and St. Paul stand guardians of our land upon its northern border; Orleans, St. Augustine, and San Antonio are the sentinals of the south; Baltimore, Boston, and New York are our eastern bulwarks, and the cities of the Sacrament, of St. Francis and of the Angels safeguard the western seas. Catholic Providence oftentime smiles, and surely it must evoke a smile to note that the very spot on which our nation's capital stands once bore the name of Rome, the stream which flows through it was then the Tiber, and the owner of that beautiful demesne was a Pope —a man of that name.[12] It were humiliating to think that the statement of this fact could work like a hobgoblin on the minds of any of our fellow citizens. As an assuagement let them know that the Empire state has a city of Rome still, and that strange to say it was there in that city of Rome that the flag of America, the Stars and Stripes, the symbol of our loyalty and our liberty, was first of all places in the world, lifted up to the kisses of the skies.[13]

It was very appropriate that our flag should be associated in its origin with Rome. Let us look for a moment at our nation's flag. It may carry some intimations of destiny. A flag is a message written in the language of heraldry, an exact language with very precise meanings. It is not to be thought that the makers of America attempted to use a language of whose meaning they were ignorant when they adopted the flag of the Red and White and Blue. Those three colors are a bold profession of the Christian belief in the Blessed Trinity. When heraldry was aborning, St. John de Matha organized a religious order—of the Holy Trinity—for the redemption of Christian captives from the Tripolitan and other Moorish pirates. God gave him a banner of red, and white, and blue, to symbolize his faith in and service of the Holy Trinity. Perhaps some of us have upon our

12 For "Rome, Tiber and Pope," see *Records of Am. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, XXI, p. 46.

13 Flag first displayed at Rome (N. Y.), see WINSOR, VI, p. 300.

breasts the scapular of the Holy Trinity (it is one of the five scapulars) and are unaware that we are carrying the original of the American flag. During the Civil War our Northern poets made good use of the fact that God had given St. John de Matha a banner of red and white and blue when He bade him devote his life to the freedom of slaves. Thus Whittier writes:

> "Is not your flag the banner which God hath blessed anew
> The mantle that DeMatha wore, the Red, the White,
> the Blue?"[14]

So far no American historian has called attention to the singular congruity that it was actually the American flag which completed for all time the work of St. John de Matha. Such is undoubtedly the case. Cardinal Wiseman in his *Recollections of the Last Four Popes* tells us that after the American Admiral Decatur had conquered the pirates of Tripoli, the powers of Europe took courage and adopted his method of dealing with those marauders; instead of paying tribute as formerly for immunity they now turned their guns upon the robbers' lairs with the result that the capture of Christians soon ceased entirely. John de Matha's work was completed perfectly by the American flag. There were various designs for the American flag before the red, white and blue was adopted. By what chance—we should never say chance—did this win so early, so hearty, and so general an approbation? There is a Providence that shapes our ends. Any nation's flag should be a sacred thing; to the Catholic the flag of America, the red, the white, and the blue, a profession of his faith in the Holy Trinity, should surely be doubly so. Incidentally it may be remarked that we have here another evidence that America is a Christian country, since its flag stands for the profession of a distinctively Christian dogma.

It must be confessed in speaking of our flag that its Christian character has been in another respect largely and woefully obscured. For our flag is, of course, historically nothing else

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14 WHITTIER actually says in this line: "Is not your sail" which is here made to read "Is not your flag"; the meaning was the same in both cases. Earlier is this paper BRENNAN'S "Mystic Weaver" was condensed into cold prose; and in the final lines stanzas of LONGFELLOW and WHITTIER are run together to fit the theme. Apology is here offered to the poets.

than an adaptation of the English flag of the days prior to the accession of the Stuarts. The natural course of evolution would have placed a great red cross, the outstanding Christian symbol, in the canton where now the stars appear. But the Puritans, in their intemperate day, deemed the emblem of the cross a superstition, and they cut it out of their English flag, as Hawthorne so enthusiastically tells us in his Grandfather's Tales.[15] What would these fretful creatures have thought of American superstition during the World War had they been permitted to visit Boston or any other of our cities or towns when the Red Cross banner floated high in honor everywhere! Perhaps it is well they cut away the cross from the flag; henceforth the flag will go alone on its missions of justice, but the Red Cross will accompany it whenever a work of mercy is to be performed.

After the Revolution came the making of the Constitution. Attention must here be called to the fact that the American colonies in breaking away from the political system and policies of Great Britain actually rushed back into the theories of government of the great Catholic schools of philosophy of the past. "Equality before the law," and "government by the consent of the governed" as well as the "balancing of the governing power," the essential features of the American system are all good old Catholic treasures, part of our birthright. It would take long to explain this matter satisfactorily to any doubter. Let it suffice to say that Professor O'Rahilly in *Studies* has done it with overwhelming conviction.[16] This point which I am passing over so hurriedly is perhaps of more vital bearing on my topic than all that have gone before. The Constitution is the life blood of a nation; how wonderful it is that the American, perhaps more than any other national constitution in the world should be a Catholic document.

Surely one of the most vibrant periods of our history was that of our Civil War. Let us confine ourselves in this period to just one instance that manifests a divine influence working

15 Cutting the Cross out of the Flag is treated by GRIFFIN, XXVI and XXVII.

16 "The Cath. Origin of Democracy" by ALFRED O'RAHILLY, Studies, March and June, 1919.

through the Church, affecting our national life beneficently at the time of that great crisis in our affairs.

There was a man of mighty intellect who for many long years before the beginning of that terrible conflict dominated the national government; like Milton's Satan this man by the power of the keen and far-reaching sword of his logic smote down all his adversaries in our most august assemblies. He was a well-meaning man; but it may be doubted whether our country ever had so dangerous an enemy of her peace and unity and happiness. In one of his great orations in the United States Senate, this man, John C. Calhoun, tells his auditors that our country is already cut in twain; ours is already a divided nation, rather two nations. The North and the South should no longer pretend to be one. They are already separated, he said, in their literatures, they are separated in their industries, in their ideals, in their thought; aye, in their very prayers before the throne of God they are separated; every denomination in the land has its North church and its South church—except the Catholics—but they are a foreign church.

That "foreign church" was far more true to this land, to the whole land, than was the accuser, who, like so many accusers, was no American. He was a mere sectionalist. In the nation's most dreadful hour this church was the sole anchor that held so that neither iron nor cable broke. She was comparatively weak then and unable to keep the nation's destinies in her control. Her cry of Peace on Earth was drowned in the angry outbursts of passion on every side. But it seems a sufficiently remarkable thing to note that we have so extraordinary a declaration from such a man that the Catholic church, alone of all the churches, stood the severest test of loyalty in the crucial moments of the ordeal of our Civil War.

The Church was weak then, better days are coming. In Washington's days, Catholics were thought to be one person in every 120 of the population; in Calhoun's, they were still but one in 20; we are now one in 5. When the Empire of Rome became Christian, the people in the country districts stuck to their false gods long after the cities became Catholic, so that the word *paganus*, which merely means a villager, got to mean a

pagan. Is history repeating itself in this regard with us? For, the latest U. S. Census of Religions (that of 1916, Vol. 1, p. 123) informs us that Catholics constitute two-thirds of the Church members in all our cities of over 300,000 population; and one-half in all the cities between 300,000 and 50,000 souls; and almost one-half (46.1%) in the cities of between 50,000 and 25,000. In exactly two-thirds of the states Catholics are more numerous than any other denomination; in fifteen of the states, and these are considered the most progressive and enlightened, Catholics outnumber all our other religious people put together. It should not be a difficult problem in arithmetic to calculate the date when America will be a Catholic country. Surely a hundred years from now it will be thoroughly so, and two hundred years hence it will be Catholic to the heart. This is the destiny of America. A nation, like an individual, may mar its own fate; great social upheavals, such as our recent wars, may hasten or retard its coming; so far the Church has come forth from these with ever new laurels upon her majestic brow, and we may hope that such will continue to prove the eventuality of future hours of trial.

Looking again, in a resumé, over the whole broad expanse of the nation, we observe that during practically the whole of the 16th century, the flag of their Catholic majesties, the sovereigns of Spain, floated over the entire expanse. In the 17th century, the lilies of Frances came down from Canada, as in a snow storm, and spread over half the land; almost from Buffalo to New Orleans, and far westward towards the Pacific; Russia possessed Alaska, and England ruled over a territory adjacent to the Atlantic, about the size of Alaska, through several decades of years. Besides New France, New Spain, and New England, our old maps give us New Netherlands, New Belgium, New Gallicia, New Sweden, and New Ireland. Nova Scotia (New Scotland) is not quite within our subject. We have no New Germany, New Austria, or New Italy. These lands brought us no political formation; but no one will deny that they have influenced our social life to the very foundation. What is there that is good in any part of Europe that has not been imported to us. This is New Europe. Everything is here except New Rome, but Rome is not of Europe but of the world. Old Rome

is always new, and can have no counterpart. Europe is dying; her governments have gone into apostacy. So, centuries ago, along that same road traveled the great Christian centers of Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, Egypt, Constantinople, i. e., the great Greek Empire. They loved the darkness, and it has closed in upon them ever darker down through the centuries of their apostacy. Europe will die, such is the fate of nations; but old Rome will stay young, and America will be the fairest of her daughters. Such seems to be the star of destiny shining before us.

How may this blessed consummation be attained? It will never be brought about by force or the sword, but by love and by meekness. Blessed are the meek—for they shall possess the land. No battlefield will ever show in blood, the spot where the day was won; no slaughter will accompany the triumph of the fair Pride of Christ. The field of victory will be in every home. The Catholic mothers of America must be the vanguard in the triumph; they will share in the heaven-sent salutation of their model: Blessed art thou . . . and Blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And yet even more blessed will they be who consecrate their virginity to God, and their lives to prayer and the care of the needy and the motherless.

When the day of triumph comes the Beatitudes will be the key to the nation's greatness. The poor, and the meek, and the suffering, and the mourning will still be with us. "The poor you shall have always with you." The man with the hoe will still be bent down—but he will not be like so many millions of our poor, and a greater proportion of our rich to-day, who know not God, brother to the ox. For he will be brother in deed and truth to the Carpenter of Nazareth, the Prince of the world to come. Three times each day the chimes of the Angelus sounding from every valley and every hilltop will remind him of his wondrous kinship. "What then shall be to him, Plato, or the swing of the Pleiades?" What, but toys, precious toys indeed, but such as he can put aside in smiles while he works out his divine mission for an eternal inheritance.

These days are coming, coming swiftly. They are not far off. Already the Angelus sounds from ten thousand towers; already the numerous family is synonymous with the Catholic

home; already more than 50,000 sisters of the Savior of mankind bless all the land with their holy lives of innocence and sacrifice.

Let me return to a thought half touched on before. We are taught that material things are but fleeting images of the invisible realities. What then do the unprecedented riches of the magnificence of the material wealth, bestowed upon this land by our Heavenly Father, betoken, but that He planted here precious souls, who, when the shadows pass and only things of worth endure, will glorify this nation with mighty and glorious deeds? Do the Rockies, rising into the dome of the heavens, not symbolize martyrs that are to be, men with souls of gold and silver and faces of adamant to stand against the powers of darkness whenever they are abroad! The endless fields of life-giving harvests, are these the confessors, seen of old at Patmos in apocalyptic numbers; and, to be brief, here must doctors arise to equal in wisdom the brilliance of Augustine and Aquinas; here legislators, greater than Justinian or even our own St. Louis; poets and archietcts, who will lift earth to the skies, as well as painters and sculptors to bring the heavens down. More than all, apostles will here be born who will invade the eastern darkness with the Light of the World shining forth from their hearts of charity, until not only Japan, and the countless hosts of India and China learn of Jesus and Mary, but Ethiopia also shall see a great light.

With such a past, and with such a vision, behind us and before us, we children of the Church—above all others—may well exclaim:

"Sail on, Oh, Ship of State,
Sail on, Oh, Union, proud and great,
Fear not each sudden sound and shock,
'Tis of the wave and not the Rock."

No, my America, you will not strike against the Rock, which Christ made everlasting; you will not strike against Peter, as so many states of Europe have done to their undoing.

"Sail on, Sail on deep freighted
With blessings and with hopes,
The saints of old with shadowy hands

Are pulling at your ropes
Behind you holy martyrs
Uplift the palm and crown,
Before you unborn ages
Send benedictions down.
Take heed of John de Matha,
God's errands never fail.
Sweep on through storm and darkness
The thunder and the hail.

Sail on nor fear to breast the sea.
Our hearts, our hopes are all with thee,
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith, triumphant over fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee."

LAURENCE J. KENNY, S. J.,
St. Louis University.

MISCELLANY

CONSECRATION OF ST. LOUIS CATHEDRAL

A fitting sequel to the Chicago Eucharistic Congress was the ceremony of the consecration of the noble Cathedral of St. Louis on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, June 29. The celebration was also commemorative of the centenary of the ecclesiastical foundation of "The Rome of the West."

Some of the magnificence which had characterized the Congress was transferred to the city named for the Crusader King, as the consecration services were attended by four Cardinals, one of them the personal representative of Pope Pius XI, several archbishops, bishops and minor prelates. One thousand priests also participated in the event. It seems more than a mere coincidence that the Princes of the Church who graced the occasion were representative of the nations whose sons and daughters have had such a large part in the upbuilding of the spiritual edifice and the material structure of St. Louis.

During the services two remarkable discourses were delivered, one by His Eminence Cardinal Hayes, the other by His Grace Archbishop Dowling, of St. Paul. Cardinal Hayes said, in part:

> The emotions of this hour touch again into living reality the mighty drama of the spirit which we experienced recently in the Eucharistic Congress at Chicago. Less than a week ago, in the company of myriads of adorers gathered from the ends of the earth, the Church in America publicly confessed, by a stupendous act of faith and worship, to the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of His love. . . .
>
> We departed thence, like the pilgrims of old homeward turning, suffused with the peace of the Lord and pondering in our souls over the mystery of His love and the power of His grace. Our progress has been arrested by the vision of another Eucharistic glory. A great and beloved Shepherd, long a leader and teacher in Israel, famed as a tireless builder in the Kingdom of Christ, is rejoicing with his devoted flock, while with his clergy he dedicates to the Living God this monumental pile, to-day cleansed with penitential ablution, vivified with fervent prayer, and consecrated with holy unction, sacred fire and smoking incense. The stones of this edifice, the metal which holds it together, the precious marbles and gorgeous mosaics which adorn it—yesterday purely material and of potter's clay—to-day, through consecration are living, eloquent, burning tongues of adoration, praise, petition and reparation, to the greater glory of God and for man's everlasting benediction.
>
> At all times, Cardinal Hayes continued, and in all climes Our Lord through His Church has been about His Father's business. As long as Satan spreads abroad error and sin, working through the mass of humanity unto ruin and despair, the mission of the Church is not yet done. . . . From the beginning even to the present hour, weak, selfish man has fallen away from truth and virtue through the lying promise of divinity with which Satan deceived our first parents. . . .

They too, like Satan, set themselves up as gods of this world, the measure of all truth, all order and all interests, yea they think to measure God Himself. Being a law unto themselves, they refuse to bend their intellects to the elementary rules of logic for the acquisition of truth; they scorn to train their wills to observe the restrictions of law for the sake of good order; they utterly disdain to shape their conduct by the rights of justice for the purpose and the well-being of society.

False prophets of science there are, never so bold and decisive as when, donning the mantle of pure reason, they sit in judgment on God and man and life. . . . Self preservation is exalted as the first law of nature, and pleasure, as the supreme quest of life. To exclude fear and sin from the field of vision is accounted common sense, and the new wisdom, the first postulate of the "joy-philosophy" of the present hour.

Asking, Who can gauge the profound misery and darkness and disorder which this ungodly creed has already let loose upon the world? Cardinal Hayes declared that the world must go to school again to learn the lesson of the Cross.

The discourse of Archbishop Dowling we are happily able to present in its entirety:

We have come together this morning to give utterance to our *Te Deum* of praise and thanksgiving to God on High, for the manifest providence by which He has led the Church in this great archdiocese out of the travail and the alarms of its difficult beginnings by the labors and the anxieties of apostolic men and women, into the peace and the security of these joyful hours of festivity. A full century has now elapsed since a Bishop bearing the inspiring title of this fine city—all Catholic in its suggestion—by the commission of the Holy Apostolic See of Rome, established his seat of authority at this strategic point in the fertile valley of the Mississippi. It was a gesture of high hope and resolution that neither the resources of the place nor the demands of its scattered flock seemed to warrant. For St. Louis was then only a rude frontier town—almost the farthest settlement in the west—a rallying point largely for trappers and dealers in peltries, who ranged through the vast lonely reaches of the northwest as far as the Rockies, in search of the skins which they acquired either in the chase or by trade with roving bands of Indians. The one outstanding characteristic of the place seemed to be its abject and hopeless poverty. Its clergy was all recruited in France and in the performance of their sacred duties were rarely or ever compelled to use the English tongue. Their congregations for the most part had come from French settlements lower down on the river and betrayed their early lack of religious training by the laxity of their lives and their ignorance of Catholic customs.

The limits of the diocese, discreetly left undefined by the Holy Congregation of the Propaganda, were such that shortly afterwards the bishops

of St. Louis and of Quebec were engaged in correspondence dealing with a proposed diocese in the far northwest, the northern boundary of which might be, at the suggestion of the Bishop of Quebec, the Arctic Circle, while the southern would be the Spanish territory of California, its western the Pacific ocean, and its eastern the Rockies! There was none to dispute in 1826, that at least the diocese included all the northwestern portion of the vast area acquired by the United States in the Louisiana purchase of 1803, the value of which was then and for long afterwards belittled and decried.

Of all the Episcopal Sees at that time, in this country, it seemed to be the one most certainly destined for the permanent work of the missions, especially among the Indians. The peaceful penetration of its hinterland by the advancing army of white settlers apparently was not considered. The character of the soil, the remoteness of its arable lands from navigable rivers and the superabundance of the public domain in great unsettled areas to the east, made it likely that, for many decades to come, it would be dedicated to uses of the Redman as hunting grounds. It was estimated that there were 75,000 Indians in the various tribes that fought and hunted in these uncharted wastes.

Nowhere, better than in St. Louis, could there be found expert acquaintance with the wild prairie lands and the rough mountainous districts of the northwest. From here, in 1804, Lewis and Clark set forth on their famous expedition of discovery which led them to the Columbia river and the Pacific ocean, and here, after an absence of more than two and a half years, they brought their gallant labors to a successful close. In the late twenties, and in the thirties, every year at least one party of trappers and traders left St. Louis to go as far as the Yellowstone and they were men to welcome any adventurous missionary who dared to join them. Thus early in this diocese the missionary note was struck. To a suggestion of Bishop Dubourg, who, although the Ordinary of New Orleans, preferred to live here, was due the organization of the celebrated work of the *Propagation de la Foi* in France. The Society of Jesus, which before its suppression was so justly famed for its missionary work among the Indians of French Canada, and the Illinois was now invited to enter anew the great northwestern field with what conspicuous success all the world knows, which knows the name of Father DeSmet. The great St. Louis university of to-day thus began as a missionary school for Indian boys.

Coincidently, a Catholic colonization moved along the river. In the beginning it was in the main French, recruited from Louisiana, but, as time went on, arrivals from French Canada settled in the little towns that sprang into being along the upper Mississippi. By 1850 there were three dioceses, the see cities of which were located on the river, Dubuque and St. Paul being the other two. Both had French bishops, and one bore the name of a French-Canadian adventurer, while the other had received its honored name from a French missionary priest. France, however, sent few or no colonists to swell the numbers of these rising Catholic towns.

The bishops and clergy, turned with confidence, and turned often for assistance to the old land of their birth. In spite of its new religious problems, due to the Revolution, France did not fail them. From the king down—the king, who in his own country, gave such a tepid exhibition of Catholic faith and practice—the pleas of the missionaries received a respectful hearing. Especially did the new *Association pour la Propagation de la Foi* lavish its benevolence upon them. They had no other recourse. The older dioceses in the east were struggling with poverty scarcely less absolute than their own, and French Canada, although associated by ties of blood and sympathy with them, had problems of her own which made the expectation of assistance from that quarter a precarious thing.

Feeble and impoverished and never numerous, as were those early Catholic settlements in the valley of the Mississippi, yet did they loom large and portentous to those who shuddered at the bare mention of the word Jesuit, and never tired of dreaming of the machinations of the Pope. It was whispered that the west was all but lost to Rome, that the country was in danger and that by the open door of the river and along every difficult route his emissaries were advancing. Soon it would be too late.

But in the very year in which the diocese of St. Louis was expected, there was exhibited in New York a crude piece of machinery that was destined to lay the fears of the most exacting patriot. Few inventions have been developed more quickly than was the railroad which, in scarcely a hundred years, has revolutionized the industrial, the economic and even the political affairs of men. It took twenty-five years or more to bring it to the Mississippi river, and when it came the spirit of Know-Nothingism aroused by the prodigious immigration of the last decade, and by the rising agitation against slavery, was at its height. The armies of new white settlers whom the panic of '57 had turned to the west, were largely native Americans and shared the exaltation of the enthusiasm and the fears of the majorities. Catholics came, indeed, but in relatively small numbers. They were then mostly Irish and German and neither knew nor sympathized with the original French-speaking Catholics. The river dioceses ceased to be on frontiers. St. Louis, however, long maintained her preeminence in the missionary field, just as to this day, hers is still the national market for peltries; but, little by little, with the settlement of the country, the original enormous area committed to the charge of the first bishop of St. Louis was partitioned to many sees and her history became like that of other great inland dioceses, one of orderly administration and of extraordinary development.

For many years, however, the traditions of the beginnings survived in the rapidly increasing dioceses of the states bordering on the Mississippi, the bishops of which were usually chosen from among the clergy of St. Louis, or, at least, from the nominees of its Metropolitan.

The history of any diocese is usually the history of the Church in any given country—in miniature. Now the history of the Church in this

country is a unique chapter in the history of the Universal Church. In this it partakes of the character of the country at large, the history of which stands alone in the annals of the world. None of the other great movements of peoples in recorded history present any parallel to it. Commerce or culture prompted Phenician and Greek to build his cities and set up his colonies on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black seas. Hunger or loot impelled the barbarians to invade the Roman Empire. Religious fanaticism gave wings to the disciples of Mahomet even as the exaltation of religious fervor explains the authentic motive of the crusades.

But in the original settlement of what is now the United States, very little thought was given to commercial advantage, still less to the perpetuation of any definite culture. The religious fanaticism of the settlers—acute in all but the Quakers and the negligible group of Catholics—was not the fanaticism of propaganda for scarcely an attempt was made to evangelize even the Indian. At the close of the Revolutionary war, which had turned out to be a victory for the Colonists because of the assistance given at an opportune moment by a great European Catholic power, there was perhaps, no religious tenet on which the most of these disparate groups were so united as on their traditional aversions to the Church of Rome. Yet policy, and the fear of one another, coupled with the dawning consciousness of modern liberalism, brought it about that the federal constitution a declaration of religious neutrality in the state should pave the way for the extension of political enfranchisement to men of all creeds or of none. France, the eldest daughter of the Church, which, even then, was planning a movement that would bring so many of her virtuous priests and prelates and religious to the scaffold, and for a bloody decade and a half would publicly forswear the faith of her illustrious past, thus almost at the moment of her apostacy rendered this distinguished service to her American ally and to the infinitesimally small group of American Catholics who now emerged from the pains and disabilities of the old penal laws.

With truly admirable consistency and in the finest spirit of toleration, the courts of our land have ever interpreted and made effective this principle of religious freedom for all, which, less because of its phraseology, than of the temper of mind in which it has been administered, has become an example for all the nations of the world and in effect has done more than anything else to strengthen the bonds of national unity. Yet it would be less than truth to say that this great principle of religious freedom for all has ever been loyally accepted by all our citizens. No man, indeed, has ever dared to challenge it, but, now under one disguise, and now under another—generally in the name of some sublimated form of patriotism—movements of great volume and scope, in rhythmic sequence, have from the beginning come into being with the purpose, sometimes avowed and sometimes hidden, of saving the nation from the villainies of Catholics, by disqualifying them from public office or by

otherwise effectively defending the Sacred Palladium of the country's freedom.

These movements have always run their course in a brief span, but one wave of acute prejudice scarcely breaks and dies in the foam of its own vain words, than it is followed by another and still another. The Church, in this country, however, owes so much to these anti-Catholic campaigns that it seems an ungracious thing to say a word against them that might sound like complaint. By segregating Catholics, they made it comparatively easy to shepherd them. They have stung many a lukewarm man or woman into a renewed loyalty to the faith of his fathers. They have given zest to those who relish the stimulus of conflict and a most inspiring theme to those whose arrows are the winged words of eloquence.

But if the truth be told, they have injured us in many significant ways. They have begotten in us the psychology of fear which sometimes displays itself in the hesitation of timidity and sometimes in the boisterousness of bravado. They have kept us out of those great movements for which the Church in every age and in every country but ours has ever shown a sympathy. In all the welter of the discussions upon slavery, the Catholic voice of this country because of the Abolitionists and their association with Know-Nothingism, uttered not one big generous word. None suffered more from the ravages of intemperance than did the immigrant, who so frequently in days gone by, was a Catholic, but because of the identification of temperance with scowling groups of those who hated the foreigner, we let the occasion slip to rally the Catholic forces of the country to the cause of this most engaging virtue. Moreover, there is no more effective eirenicon in any of our communities than the generous efforts involving the general coöperation of all good citizens for social betterment, so universally in favor at the present time throughout the country, yet such has been our aloofness that it is only to-day we are beginning to do our part and to enter with spirit into these genial enterprises. The worst evil of all that has come to us from the frequent and unreasonable agitations of our traditionally hostile critics has been that we have dispensed ourselves from the imperative duty of criticizing ourselves sanely, for we have become thin-skinned and resentful of everything but meaningless praise and laudation and have deprived ourselves of the stimulating experience which the quiet confrontation of facts inevitably produces.

The unique character of the Church's history in this country has not, however, come, even in large part, from our reactions to those outside our own body. Intricate problems of great difficulty and delicacy have had to be considered from the very beginning of our short history as a Church with an organized hierarchy. When Bishop Carroll was consecrated in 1790, no man could have foretold the volume or the extent of Catholic immigration into the United States even in the twenty-five years of his episcopate. The Catholic Church, as he knew it in Maryland, was a derivation from England. His friendships, his memories, his sympathies

were all associated with English Catholics. His long years as a Jesuit in Liège made him familiar with and peculiarly appreciative of French Catholics whom as victims of the French Revolution he was to receive into his American diocese. It was not his fault that he mistook the character and the importance of the tumultuous congregations of the Irish, which to his great surprise and perhaps annoyance, made their presence felt almost as soon as he assumed the reins of episcopal government.

The racial problem thus began in the Church of his day and has been with us since. It has run the gamut of all the pentecostal tongues of the old Catholic lands that sent their children in swelling numbers to this. It has created jealousies and rivalries among us; it has often brought confusion and misunderstanding into our councils. By keeping us apart, it has put off the day when the Church, as a great Christian body, would speak the language of the country and confront the problems of its citizens. But on the other hand, it is, under God, largely responsible for whatever measure of success we have had until this day. Had not the agitation of the emancipation movement in Ireland prepared the Irish peasantry for emigration, they doubtless would have lost their faith when they came here. Had not the various Kulturkampfs in Prussia developed the militant qualities of the German Catholic, in all likelihood he would not have been so attached to the faith of his forefathers in the land of his adoption as he has shown himself to be. The very rivalries that have kept the races apart in this country have provoked those prodigious and successful efforts which have provided places of worship and of religious instruction for all our Catholic peoples.

Our Catholic immigrants have come usually from the peasantries of Europe. They have as a rule recruited and to this day they still recruit the hardworking humble classes of this country. Had they stayed in Europe they would not have thought of building a church, a school or any institution associated with the work of religion. They would have continued on, perhaps, in the traditional pieties of their ancestors, leading innocent lives sheltered from grievous temptations.

The passage of the Atlantic has, however, wrought this change in both the priests and the people who have come here that, quite universally they have had first the courage to attempt large enterprises, and then the resolution to seek the funds for these works out of their own modest resources, and finally, the devotion to carry them on to a successful conclusion. It is a singular phenomenon, quite without parallel even in this country, among any other groups but Catholics. The pent up desires of peoples whose ancestors perhaps for centuries had never seen a new church rise, or, at least, who had never taken any part in erection of those that were built, have found in the universal activities of the Church in this country the most abundant modes of expression.

A quite uncovenanted providence resulting from the inevitable friction of races here has been the genuine childlike devotion of the Church in the United States to the Holy See. Just as the French Revolution in Europe

against all expectation was the means of lifting the papacy out of the abasement to which the cabals of courts and the chicanery of lawyers had reduced it in the 18th century, so here the need of a common bond of union in the midst of the confusion and the Babel of our sudden and disorderly establishment has turned the eyes of all our peoples with grateful homage and fealty to the Sovereign Pontiff—the great White Father of Christendom.

Saints we have had none save the uncounted multitude of holy men and women whose virtues and whose heroism have been blended without observation with their prodigious labors in planting the mustard seed of the faith. The apostles of all the nations are ours by right since it is by the original impulse of their evangelical missions that the Church exists among us to-day.

Short as has been our history as measured by the years—it is but 136 years since the first bishop came to Baltimore—it has been a period of excessive and fatiguing labors. It has been ours with what resources we could command, with a clergy usually inadequate in number, and frequently inadequate in preparation "to keep in His name" the multitudes of every land and tongue and clime who came to us in these tumultuous decades and let us give thanks to God to-day that, in spite of our manifold deficiencies, we have not too greatly failed.

Here in this flourishing diocese, on the 100th anniversary of its establishment, in this great Cathedral, but yesterday signed and sealed unto the service and worship of God for the ages, we may read large the inspiring prophecy of the Church's future in this great country of ours. Here are assembled—and nowhere better than here—all the elements out of which our dreams, our hopes, our prayers may find fulfillment. Like precious trophies of the past, rise the dear names of its brief but illustrious line of pontiffs, of the great Apostles DuBourg and Rosati; of the venerable Patriarch Kenrick, for 50 years and more the shepherd of this valley; and of the eager Kain. What hosts of valiant men and women, their companions and helpers, some of great name and reputation in their day, but most of them unknown, content to be God's lowly servants, have by their prayers, their labors and their merits prepared the happy consummation of this hour.

On every side the thronged churches bear witness to the marvelous life of grace that flows without ceasing upon the multitudes, through the ministry of the Sacraments and of the Word. And the compassion of Christ is here, finding expression with the ingenuity of love in every mode and form of charity, for the young, the old, the sick, the sore, the outcast and the neglected.

Where better than in this diocese shall we find the provisions for Christian education in every type of school from the lowest grade of the elementary classes to the highest department of a university? Here is a hearty and a most successful effort to accept the full and challenging responsibilities of our most difficult educational program.

Back of it all is the tireless vigor and the fine courage of that devoted prelate who for nearly a quarter of the century we are commemorating has been the life and the spirit of all the Church's manifold activities in this great archdiocese. In days to come it will scarcely be believed that one man, however gifted, could have dared to plan, much less to bring to accomplishment, the great works that we have seen him achieve. One after another under his impulse a noble seminary, a great high school, and now this magnificent cathedral, have come into being as if without an effort on his part, and we like to think of him in the devotion of his service to the Church, in the modesty of his claims for personal recognition, and in the cheerful gaiety of his thought, as a type of our American episcopate—young, courageous, faithful.

Here gather around him to-day his brethren of the episcopate of this country in unusual number and the mitred representatives of the Church in many lands as never before on any other similar occasion and as, in all likelihood, they shall never be in a position to do again.

With them also come to do him honor on this proud day venerable members of the Sacred College of Cardinals and, at their head, the personal representative of the Holy Father himself, than whom apart from the august legation that he bears, there is no man who, for his own distinguished merit and for his manifold services to the Church in this country, could shed more luster on this bright hour of sacred memories.

A hundred years ago when the seed that had been but just sown in tears showed signs of life, Bishop Du Bourg exclaimed in the words of the Psalmist, "Factum a Domino et mirabile est in oculis nostris." To-day, our faith confirmed in that divine guidance by the stimulating experiences of a full century, it is still the Psalmist's voice that echoes the thoughts which thrill us: "Haec est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et laetemur in illa." Exult, rejoice, because He will surely lead us in the days to come as He has most manifestly led us in the days that are gone.

The following detailed description of the Cathedral has been furnished through the courtesy of the editor of the *Church Progress*—the official organ of Archdiocese of St. Louis:

The Cathedral is a majestic church, the grace and beauty of which grow on one with increasing awe and reverence. The great dome covered with green tile and surmounted by a cross, in all 227 feet in height, is visible from a great distance in the central and western parts of the city. On approaching the Cathedral we see a magnificent pile of blue granite, covering an immense space, 305 feet long and 204 feet wide. On each side of the main façade square towers reach up 157 feet from the street level. The beautiful rose windows over the entrance and at the rear of the sanctuary make the sightseer realize the opportunity for tracery which the front and rear of the Cathedral present. The many entrances and exits pleasurably break the lines of the walls.

The Latin inscription on the cornerstone, translated into English, reads: "To Christ, the Victor, and in honor of St. Louis, King of France and Patron of this dear City and Archdiocese, was laid by the Most Excellent and the Most Reverend Delegate of the Apostolic See, on October 18, 1908."

But when we enter the Cathedral the noble proportions of the interior strike us anew with distinct surprise. It seems almost as limitless as Heaven itself! And almost as beautiful! For the glory and color of this great house of worship, like the beauty of the king's daughter, is within. Rich hues and bright reflections burst upon us with a splendor that is at once holy and magnificent. Walls of marble, columns of porphyry and onyx, and mosaic pictures that blend all the gorgeous tints of the Orient, make us speechless with wonder and admiration.

The ground plan of the Cathedral follows the lines of the Greek cross. The church proper has three divisions, the narthex, the nave and the sanctuary, while four chapels fill in the arms of the cross.

The main altar and baldachino of the Cathedral is so perfect in proportions that the composition has been adjudged one of the greatest contributions to modern art. It was planned by the late George D. Barnett, of Barnett, Haynes and Barnett, and erected under his supervision by the Gorham Company of New York.

The altar and baldachino form a reflex of the central exterior motif, being a continuity of the unity of the entire structure, employing such modification as interior development and planning demands. The entire composition is magnificent in scale, wonderful colonnades or rare and varied colored marble, rich inlays and mural mosaics, embracing many and properly expressed symbols in which the Christian faith is so abundant.

The following dimensions will give some concrete idea of its size importance. Measuring 20 feet square at the base, with extended circular transepts 31 feet over all, the dome, rearing its cross 57 feet above the sanctuary floor, is supported on the perfect number of ten great marble monoliths, 1 foot 10 inches in diameter and 15 feet high; four of red Verona, four of highly figured Sienna and two of Alps green. The circular extensions are supported on four Violetta Brescio columns of the same dimensions, the largest monoliths of this marble in America, which act as the pedestals of the four evangelists.

The columns are surmounted by highly decorated sculptured caps of individual design, carrying the symbols of immortality, the four gospels, a Chi Rho and other churchly symbols. The square above the columns is supported on four great arches, decorated and embellished with wondrous carvings and rich inlays. The square recedes to an octagon stylobate on which rests the delicate, circular and pedimented colonnade of the dome, richly incrusted panelings, crowned with a beautiful mosaic dome, slender colonnaded lunette and fire gilt cross.

Inside the baldachino, rising from an inlaid floor as delicately intricate and decorative as a Persian rug, is the altar, made of a richly variegated

veined, selected Sienna marble. The mensa is one great stone from out to out, supported on decorated colonnades at ends and richly inlaid stripes or antependium between, the central motif of which is the Agnus Dei in fire gilt. Above are the beautiful inlaid step and retable with notable mosaics of the four Latin Fathers, doctors of the Roman Church. On the retable rest the six great candlesticks, richly moulded and decorated sculptured modelings in fire gilt.

The tabernacle, surmounted with inner baldachino, is wondrous in richly colored marbles and jeweled inlays. The tabernacle door is of resplendent fire gilt, incrusted with a variety of semi-precious jewels and bronze decorations.

The ceiling and pendentives of the main baldachino are covered with the richest mosaics of modern times. In the four pendentives are placed the archangels Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Uriel, of the highest rendering and mechanical perfection. The ceiling is a blaze of Venetian golds and reds, varied in tone graduations, giving wonderful scintillation and luster to the scheme; the geometric ancient symbol of the Trinity, radiating into the symbols of the seven spiritual gifts of the Holy Ghost signatured with the chi rho and interwined with a vine of abundance, are worked into the ceiling in a most beautiful and convincing detail.

The structure is most elaborately decorated with sculptured carvings and a wealth of varied detail has been employed in the design, a liberty by precedent in the style. The mosaics have been developed in what might be termed a broad brush mark departing from the modern lines of fine gradations, the tessera frankly admitted and uneven surfaces used to give the full reflective value of the materials. In order to produce the mosaics of this high type it was found necessary to employ four classes of materials, Venetian, Austrian, American and English glass.

This great monument to Christian faith and modern art has been made possible by the zeal and devotion of the great Metropolitan, Most Rev. John J. Glennon, Archbishop of St. Louis, and the princely generosity of the donor, W. C. McBride.

Above the tabernacle are two small angels of white marble flanking the altar-crucifix, which is 3 feet 6½ inches high, and above all is the wonderful Calvary group.

The cross in this Calvary group is of bronze and the figure of Christ is of Carrara statuary marble, while those of the Blessed Virgin and St. John are of the soft, creamy Trani marble. The figure of Christ is most artistically carved and the beautiful head droops toward His Blessed Mother with an expression of the greatest tenderness and love.

Next to the altar in importance is the pulpit from which the Archbishop preaches the Gospel to his people. The permanent pulpit of the Cathedral will prove to be an enduring ornament or real service. It is a highly embellished rich Byzantine monument, expressing in typical form the works of the 13th Century as then indicated in Pisa. The three upper panels, forming the speaker's enclosure, have for their motif the panels

of the railing enclosing the altar in the baptistry of Pisa, which are considered the foremost examples of Byzantine carving in the world. The pulpit is a rich expression of material including marble, mosaic inlays, and fitting access by steps of iron solidity, all thoroughly in sympathy with the entire structure. A gift of $5,000, tendered to Rev. Francis Gilfillan, was accepted only on the condition that he be allowed to use it as his judgment dictated, and adding $2,000 of his own money, the erection of the permanent pulpit was made possible by his generosity. This former rector of the Cathedral is now Bishop of St. Joseph, Mo.

The Communion rail is of white marble with bronze panels and inlays of mosaic. The panels are of a conventional design with a modified Byzantine cross. The decorative gates bear the conventionalized figure of a peacock, from ancient times symbolic of immortality and omniscience. Mrs. David G. Evans contributed $5,000 for the installation of the sanctuary rail as a memorial to the late Dr. Thomas O'Reilley and Father Archer, her uncle.

In the upper part of the north wall of the sanctuary, behind ornamental gratings, is installed the choir organ, erected by George Kilgen and Son of St. Louis. It is played from a console on the floor level. Seats for the members of the Sanctuary Choir—composed of men and boys vested in cassock and surplice—are arranged in tiers around the console.

The Archbishop's Throne consists of four handsome bronze columns, supporting a bronze canopy. The four columns, carved in a beautiful design, and the ornamental canopy uphold the elaborate draperies of red velvet and gold that form the background of the Throne. The coat-of-arms of Archbishop Glennon, beautifully embroidered by the Sisters of the Precious Blood of O'Fallen, Mo., appears on this drapery. The Throne is the gift of Harry Grewe and is a memorial to his wife at a cost of $5,000.

Within the building, yet somewhat detached from it by ambulatories, four chapels are dedicated as follows: The Blessed Sacrament Chapel on the east side of the building and at the right of the altar as one faces the sanctuary; the Virgin Mother or Lady Chapel, on the west side of the building and at the left of the altar; the All Souls' Chapel at the east side and right-hand corner of the nave as one enters by the swinging doors from the vestibule; and the All Saints' Chapel, on the left of the entrance doors and on the west side of the nave.

All Saints' Chapel lies to the left hand as one enters the Cathedral, by the swinging doors, from the narthex or vestibule. The decoration of this chapel was designed by Chevalier Aristide Leonori of Rome and was executed by the Tiffany Company of New York. The chapel is constructed of white marble and mosaic. The columns on the east side and the corresponding pilasters on the west wall of the chapel are of white Carrara marble with inlaid slabs of porphyry and verde antique, outlined with a band of mosaic in a conventional design. The bases of the columns are of white marble, and golden black Oporto marble forms a border

along the lower line of the walls between the columns. The mosaic ceiling, with its dominant colors of blue and yellow, shows an intricate pattern of interlacing scrolls and graceful arabesques. Each section of the vaulted ceiling of the chapel and the ambulatory has a different design and amidst the luxuriant tracery we find many kinds of birds and flowers and various well known symbols. The tessellated pavement is of vari-colored marbles laid in an intricate design.

The altar itself is of white Carrara marble, inlaid with circles of porphyry, outlined with a band of mosaics in conventional designs. The gilt door of the tabernacle bears a chiseled chalice. Above the tabernacle under a small canopy upheld by four porphyry columns is a statue of St. Joseph. The front of the altar has mosaic panels with figures of white-robed angels against a background of gold. On either side of the altar is a tall twisted column of white marble with inlays of gold mosaic.

The four mosaic pictures on the west wall call to mind the Litany of the Saints for they represent some of those names are written large on the Roll of Honor of the Church Triumphant.

This chapel was the gift of Mrs. Anna Hamilton Bailey, a convert.

After gazing with admiration at the majestic beauty of the High Altar, the visitor to the Cathedral turns to the Lady Chapel at the left of the sanctuary. Like the Blessed Sacrament Chapel on the other side of the sanctuary, the Lady Chapel lies five steps above the level of the auditorium and three steps below the ambulatory which separates it from the sanctuary. The decoration of this chapel, like that of All Saints' Chapel, was designed by Chevalier Aristid Leonori of Rome, and was executed by the Tiffany Company of New York. Like All Saints' Chapel, it is Roman in style and here are found the same columns and pilasters, with their slabs of porphyry and verde antique and their inlays of mosaic. The mosaic ceiling, too, recalls that of All Saints' Chapel, and here are the same symbols of cross, of interlaced circles and of grapes and the same designs of birds and flowers of many colors.

The altar is of white Carrara marble, profusely inlaid with gold mosaic in a conventional design. Four twisted, inlaid columns uphold the altar table and their delicate beauty is reminiscent of the famous columns in the cloister of St. Paul's without the walls of Rome. The gilt door of the tabernacle bears a beautiful representation of our Lord displaying His Sacred Heart for our adoration. Over it, in white marble, is the Agnus Dei, the Lamb of God. Above two small angels stand guard over the tabernacle. Six mosaic panels, three on either side of the tabernacle, represent St. Peter and St. Paul and the four Evangelists.

This chapel is the gift of Patrick and John Sheehan, who have since entered into rest.

The Blessed Sacrament Chapel reflects great credit upon the artistic sense and the genius for architecture of the designer, the late G. D. Barnett of Barnett, Haynes & Barnett, St. Louis. It likewise speaks eloquently of the generosity of the late and former Ambassador Richard C. Kerens,

by whom it was donated, and who gave it as a lasting and effective tribute to the memory of his wife. The work was done by the Gorham Company of New York, under the supervision of Mr. Barnett.

The chapel is a rich expression of the Byzantine style and so corresponds to the character of the building in which it is placed. The color scheme is varied in tone, resting upon a dominant underlying shade of red, symbolic of the Saving Blood of Christ. With this there is a profuse use of Venetian gold mosaic, the whole of the chapel's barrel-vaulted ceiling being made of that material. The ten columns in this chapel carry out the symbolism noted in the dominant red tones. The great monoliths belong to the "Red Family of Marbles." Four are of red Numidian, two of Lavantos, two of Fiori de Pesco and two of Benu. These pilasters are surmounted by capitals whose decoration is of the purest Byzantine type. The center of the chapel, from which all radiates and to which all returns, is the altar. This is of old Convent Sienna marble, richly overlaid with gold mosaics, semi-precious stones and agates. It is surmounted by a fire-gilt crucifix, said to be the greatest of its kind in America. This is set upon a wheeled base laid upon trucks. A slight pressure serves to withdraw the crucifix to the background and affords room for the placing of the monstrance at Benediction or during Exposition of the Most Blessed Sacrament. The door of the tabernacle is set with a large, round rock crystal, which represents the Sacred Host, and below, in relief, are two angels adoring. In the center of the space below the altar-table is the ancient symbol of the pelican feeding its young with its own blood. This recalls the Saviour and brings to mind the fifty-sixth verse of the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel where our Lord tells His disciples "My blood is drink indeed."

Above the altar, in the semi-circular recess behind it, is a mosaic picture which is an original development of that phase of the Last Supper.

The barrel-vaulted ceiling of the chapel proper shows six angels in great panels with a vivid red background. Each of these angels holds in his hands a symbol of the Passion of Christ. These are the Crown of Thorns, the Scourge, the Nails and Hammer, the Spear, the Ladder and the Lantern.

At the entrance to the chapel are two bronze gates which were a part of the Austrian exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. At the close of the Exposition these gates were presented to Archbishop Glennon.

The space at the southeast corner of the Cathedral's nave, or at the right hand of the visitor who enters the Cathedral by way of Lindell boulevard, is situated the chapel dedicated to the Faithful Departed. The straight lines and solemn tones give this chapel a jealous place with the others which are a blaze of grandeur and chromatic genius. Though the architecture of the All Souls' Chapel is different from the particular scheme of the others, yet it is the very embodiment of the general Byzantine motif upon which the whole Cathedral is so consummately designed.

The wall space is surfaced with golden black oporto marble with a three-inch strip of white Italian marble empaneling the window casement. The pilasters encased in white marble stand out in striking contrast with the great black marble walls, symbolic of the radiant white light of eternal life as contrasted with the black shadow of death. The straight lines and flat ceiling lend a dignity and soberness that particularly characterize this representative type of Byzantine architecture. The blue and gold mosaics beginning above the spring line of the arches give enough color to break the otherwise cold monotony.

The coat of arms of the several Bishops and Archbishops that have occupied the See of the Crusader King, fitly find a place in the space between the ceiling and the spring line of the arches.

In the first panel is the coat of arms of the Rt. Rev. Louis William Valentine Du Bourg, the first Bishop of the Diocese of St. Louis. His coat of arms is that of the family D. B. de Ste. Colombe D'Azure a trois branches d'epines d'argent posees 2 and 1. Device "Lilium inter spinas."

On a scroll shield of azure three branches of silver thorns placed two on top and one on the bottom with the motto, "Lilium inter spinas," "a Lily among thorns," going out from the top of the shield is a kingly crown symbolizing his kingly proveniency to a royal priesthood. This, in turn, is surmounted by an Episcopal cross capped by the emblem of Dukedom from whence curling down in graceful indifference is a cord which ends in a triangular formation of tassels beginning with two, then three, and finally four, the symbol of Episcopal power.

In chronological order the next coat of arms is that of the Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, C. M. Like Du Bourg before him he took the coat of arms of his family—not of his real but his adopted family, "The Congregation of the Mission," of which Congregation he was a devoted son. The official seal of the Congregation consists of three interovaliforms. In the smallest oval is Christ, the teacher of the world, standing on a circle symbolic of the world. In this coat of arms, too, curling down in graceful lines is a cord which ends in triangular formation of tassels.

Rosati changed but little this official seal of the Congregation. Instead of Christ standing on the "world" he simply straightened the circle and in the segment below he incorporated a rose branch in bloom to convey the idea "Ros-ati." Projecting from this inner oval on the right is the crozier and on the left the episcopal mitre.

The next in order of time and episcopal succession is the arms of Peter Richard Kenrick, the first Archbishop of St. Louis. His official insignia is a lion mounted on a shield; projecting from the right of the shield is the crozier and to the left the mitre; from the center of the shield mounting upwards is the episcopal cross, from whence as in the other insignia there is the triangular formation of tassels. His motto, "Noli irritare leonem," "Do not enrage the lion."

The Most Rev. John Joseph Kain, the immediate successor of Peter Richard Kenrick, chose for his coat of arms a shield divided in four parts;

in the upper left-hand corner is a chalice from whence protrudes the head of a serpent, symbolic of St. John, in another division to the right is the lily of St. Joseph, and in the lower left corner a shamrock, and in the lower right corner is a stalk of sugar cane. Hence John Joseph Kain of Irish lineage. His motto, "Pro Deo et Patria," for God and Country.

The altar is done in white Italian marble with the antependium divided by gray twisted columns, the four evangelists are placed in gold mosaic inlay. Surmounting the tabernacle is a life-sized Carrara marble statue of Christ under the title "I am the Resurrection and the Life." Silver candlesticks rise up from each side of the figure.

The floor of this chapel is well worth the visitor's attention. It is a beautiful piece of work, both in execution and design. As an example of tessellation it is remarkable. The central field is composed of great slabs of pure white marble laid with three quarter-inch jointings of black, while all around the extent of the chapel runs a border of Belgian black, Italian white and Levanto marbles. At the foot of the altar steps and in the middle of the chapel aisle, therre is an interment-slab, richly decorated with inlays of fire-gilt accompanied by the prevailing marbles, Belgian black and Levanto. The inscription on this burial stone is the prayer of the Church, "Requiescant in Pace." This stone will serve as the base upon which the catafalque will rest during memorial services or where the coffin will be placed during a funeral. This stone bears the conventional designs of the torch and the crown—the torch of faith, lit by Him who is the "Light of the World," and the crown of life, which is the Christian's reward after an earthly sojourn filled with many temptations and much vexation of spirit.

The climax to the story of the St. Louis Cathedral came in the consecration ceremonies of last week. Visiting princes of the Church on that eventful occasion expressed the opinion that it rivaled the famous basilicas of the old world which is the briefest and at the same time highest word of praise that can be said in its behalf.

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, of June 30, says:

The consecration of the New Cathedral, with the Princes of the Church officiating in the brilliant ceremonial, is an historic event. Following as it does the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, it emphasizes the magnitude and splendor which the Roman Catholic Church has achieved in the Western world. The two great cities of the "Valley of Democracy" have witnessed two striking triumps of pageantry, but they have also witnessed something more significant—two vast, compelling demonstrations of intense devotional zeal.

If "to have great poets we must have great audiences, too," so, to have great churches we must have great congregations. The Roman Catholic Church has great congregation. Its greatness may be symbolized in the

glory of its architecture and the robed and mitred majesty of its prelates; but its greatness abides in the fervor of its people, in their worshipful fidelity to its covenants, in their unswerving trust in its authority and guidance. In a time when other sects complain of faltering allegiance and fading prestige the Roman Catholic Church, so far as an impartial non-communicant can observe, maintains the full flowers and vigor of its dynastic genius.

A hundred years intervenes between the humble log structure at Second and Walnut and the Byzantine pile at Lindell and Newstead. The story in a way epitomizes the American miracle. Step by step throughout the transformation the Roman Church has marched in the procession from the hazard of pioneerdom to an imperial affluence. In the finding of America, says the historian Parkman, "never a cape was turned, never a river entered but a Jesuit led the way." Certainly the Mississippi can testify to the gentle daring of those early missionaries who came into the savage wilderness with no weapons save the cross and rosary, with no message except the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

The four official leaders in the century of St. Louis Catholicism have been: Bishop Rosati, from 1826 to 1843; Archbishop Kenrick, from 1843 to 1896; Archbishop Kane, from 1896 to 1903, and Archbishop Glennon, whose administrative career has culminated in the consecration of the new Cathedral.

This stately edifice is a lasting monument to his name, but Archbishop Glennon's place in the history of St. Louis is written in a finer script than that of mosaics or marble. It is written in the esteem and affection of the whole city. His influence has been one of the constructive forces of St. Louis. There are no sectarian barriers between him and the city's public sentiment. St. Louis knows him as a churchman, as a scholar, as a man of affairs, as a citizen whose counsel is solicited in enterprises of moment, but it knows him above all as a great gentleman, who has brought lasting distinction to St. Louis. All of us, regardless of creed, take pride in this consummation of his priestly ambition.

It is a truism to say that a church is known by its churchmen? Well, that is a truism which does not happen to be true. The elements of bigotry, of prejudice, still obtain. We see unhappy manifestations of that attitude politically, racially, religiously. But knowing Archbishop Glennon as we do, may we not accept him, not as exceptional but as representative of his Church? Accepting him as such, we can appreciate the breadth and accuracy, as well as the beauty of Woodrow Wilson's tribute to the Catholic Church:

"The only reason why government did not suffer dry rot in the Middle Ages under the artistocratic systems which then prevailed was that the men who were efficient instruments of government were drawn from the church—from that great church, that body which we now distinguish from other church bodies as the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church, then and now, was a great democracy. There was no peasant so

humble that he might not become a priest, and no priest so obscure that he might not become Pope of Christendom, and every chancellory of Europe was ruled by those learned, trained and accomplished men—the priesthood of that great and then dominant church; and so what kept government alive in the Middle Ages was this constant rise of the sap from the bottom, from the rank and file of the great body of the people, through the open channels of the Roman Catholic priesthood."

Woodrow Wilson as historian spoke with the authority of knowledge. Démocracy has found itself since the Middle Ages. It now stands on its own legs. But the innate democracy of the Roman Catholic Church immutably persists. The Princes of the Church, as the biographies of our American Cardinals attest, come from the ranks. That is the secret of its institutional virility.

And so it survives and flourishes and ministers to multiplying numbers, and builds magnificent cathedrals, but never ceases to be "as the shadow of a great rock in many a wearied land" of human need.

CHRONICLE

The Federation of College Catholic Clubs held its eleventh international conference in Philadelphia during the first week of July.

The purposes of the Federation, according to its constitution are to organize Catholic students of non-Catholic universities, colleges and institutions of higher learning for the purpose of mutual helpfulness and united effort in promoting their religious, intellectual, moral and social standards.

It is further the purpose of the Federation to organize such students into clubs and to promote and help to maintain club growth; to group such organizations in local bodies called provinces; to supervise the work of clubs and provinces and generally to aid in the works of the Church.

The Federation has eighty-four federated clubs in two cities of Canada and in fifty-one cities of twenty-two States in the United States. It has also been reaching and endeavoring to organize students in more than 150 other college centres. For its work the president of the Federation has a board of twelve officers and 362 men in the field in various official capacities.

The following institutions are represented: Adelphi College, Alumni Association of University of Pa., Barnard College, Boston University, Boston University Law, Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Catholic Students of Charleston, S. C., Cleveland School of Education, College of City of New York, College of City of New York (evening session), Colorado School of Mines, Colorado State Teachers, Columbia University, N. Y., Cooper Union for Advancement of Arts and Science, Cornell University, Dartmouth College, Drexel Institute, Emerson College, Evening School of University of Pennsylvania, Hunter College, Hunter Alumnae, Iowa State College, Kansas State Teachers' College, Lafayette College, Massachusetts College of Pharmacy, Maxwell Training School, Miami University, Ohio, New York State College for Teachers, New York State Institute of Applied Agriculture, N. Y. Training School for Teachers, New York University, Pittsburgh, Rutgers College.

Salem Normal School, Savage School for Physical Education, Simmons College, Smith College, Southwestern Louisiana Institute, State College of Washington, State Teachers' College, North Dakota, Stevens Institute of Technology, Syracuse University, Teachers' College, Temple University, Texas University, Toronto University, Troy, New York, University Heights, N. Y., University of California, Southern Branch, University of Cincinnati, University of Maine, University of Pennsylvania, University of Virginia, University of Wyoming, Vassar College, Wellesley College, West Virginia University, Western Reserve University, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Mass. Agricultural College, Mass. Institute of Technology, Princeton University, Rennselaer Polytechnic Institute, University of Vermont, Framingham Normal School, McGill University, Stout Institute, Menom., Wis., Tufts Medical and Dental Colleges, Southeast Missouri State Teachers, Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, Temple University and Women's Medical College.

Addresses were made by Father Keogh and Dr. Josiah H. Penniman, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, at Wednesday's sessions. Dr. Penniman

spoke at the morning session in Houston Hall, while Father Keogh spoke at the afternoon session in the Sesqui-Centennial auditorium.

"The Newman Club here at the University is one of the strongest factors in establishing a sane and well-balanced campus life," Dr. Penniman said. "Men and women in the great trials of life turn to religion as a means of salvation. The Newman Clubs afford refuge for young people who find the troubles of their younger years too difficult to bear alone."

"The Newman Clubs were started in seven universities, of which the University of Pennsylvania was one," said Father Keogh. "To-day there are seventy-seven clubs in the federation. At first but one club had its own house. Last year eight houses were erected on college campuses or in college towns of the United States.

"A great need of the clubs is a rearrangement of membership according to the courses followed by the students," continued Father Keogh. "For the graduate students in highly specialized courses, guilds should be organized for helping them in their work. Such an arrangement was made at the University of Pennsylvania by which lectures in medical, legal and social ethics were delivered to the students in the medical, law and business school courses."

The deliberations were formally ushered in with a Mass celebrated by His Eminence Cardinal Dougherty in the Cathedral at 9 o'clock. The Cardinal was attended by the Rev. Dr. Gerald P. O'Hara, his secretary, and the Rev. John W. Keogh, chaplain general of the Federation.

The sermon, a thoughtful and scholarly exposition of certain aspects of the Church as a civilizing institution, was delivered by the Right Rev. Bishop Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University of America. Bishop Shahan also took occasion to point out that there are many ways in which youth can serve the Church and sanctify itself, especially by engaging in such charitable works as Ozanam and his band of enthusiasts we are fortunate in being able to reproduce this eloquent discourse:

"*Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth.*" (Eccl. xii., 1.)

The great Sage of Israel was conscious enough that youth was the original storehouse of life, the period when strength and vigor, energy and health, foregather, so to speak, in the body and establish the animal capital of life. He knew also that it was in youth that are planted the seeds of the great natural virtues: wisdom, prudence, fortitude and temperance, which Hebrew, Stoic, and Christian have never failed to laud and promote. He was also aware, as the spokesman of the people of God, that there was another outlook on life, namely a spiritual and supernatural angle, from which youth was bound to visualize itself, its gifts and opportunities, its growth and development, its activities and its influence.

Created by God, possessed of an immortal soul, destined to eternal life, keenly conscious of good and evil, youth must necessarily face these larger and final issues of life. In other words, the matter of religion is no less vital to it than to its elders.

Broadly speaking, then, it is true that the most precious gift of youth is its innate sense of religion. This common human and original conviction is not at all begotten of ignorance or superstition, much less is it a result of base fear or moral cowardice. It is, on the contrary, an intimate, natural persuasion of every heart that God exists; that He is good and wise, just and holy; that He has created the world and man in love and wisdom; that He is our Father in heaven, concerned about us all, and easily accessible by prayer, worship and service. He can be known by us, as our individual conscience and the religious history of mankind prove. Above all, His will, holy and wise and beneficent, is well-known to us, and thus are set up for all men a way and a guide through life.

Now mankind did not always have a perfect knowledge of God. The perfect knowledge of God came to us through His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ. Through Him also the will of God in regard to mankind has been clearly made known, and we have entered on its possession through the Word of God Who is henceforth for us the Way, the Truth and the Life.

But who has preserved for us this new and glorious message of Jesus Christ? And who has kept it intact for so many centuries? And who has made it known to the world without ceasing? And who has interpreted it honestly and without guile? And who has honored and glorified it by the holy lives of her children and by their great deeds in every age and clime? Surely it is the Holy Catholic Church, ever visible and accessible, wise and experienced beyond all others, conscious of her mission and her authority, and filled with an overflowing love of mankind.

She stands out in life and history as the true representative and most reliable interpreter of the deep and holy religious sense of mankind. Nor is there any reason for wonder in the fact that in every age and country young men and young women, from the days of the martyrs down to the "Little Flower" of Lisieux, have gladly listened to her sweet appeals, and have entered the service of God on her guarantee and assurance of eternal life with Jesus Christ. Only the Catholic Church could have called the boy Benedict from his luxurious Roman palace and made of him the founder of the great Benedictine Order that saved Europe from barbarism and created our Christian civilization. Only the Catholic Church could have called the young man Bernard from his castles and his comforts, and renewed through him the moral life of mediæval Christendom. Only the Catholic Church could have so easily won the heart of that other young man, Francis of Assisi, that he cast aside riches and pleasures and created the Franciscan Order that since then has covered the world with its missionaries and its good works.

But the world owes to the Catholic Church a far greater benefit. It is owing entirely to her teaching, her action and her influence that faith in Jesus Christ as the Word of God, Second Person of the Blessed Trinity and our Redeemer, has been kept alive. It is her preaching and her sacraments, her missionaries and writers, her martyrs and confessors, her saintly

men and women of every degree, who have maintained the teachers of Jesus Christ as made known to us by His holy life and His glorious passion.

And is it not by the blessed hands of her priesthood that has come down through the ages the Holy Mass, the very sacrifice of Calvary itself, the most tender mystery of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ that secures for us eternal life, that unites us all so intimately in this life, and that exhibits so admirably the love of Jesus Christ for all mankind, even to the end of time?

O fortunate American Catholic youth, whose eyes have beheld these days at Chicago the most wonderful of all, the purely spiritual triumphs of the Catholic Church, the public adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in the heart of that splendid city by over a million of men and women, who wore their faith in Jesus Christ openly before the world, and hesitated at no sacrifice, to proclaim it with the utmost affection and devotion. Cardinals and bishops, and priests, young and old, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, followed the Papal Legate for four miles, as he bore aloft the Blessed Sacrament amid burning heat and drenching rain, while from all these multitudes arose continually our Catholic hymns of praise and benediction.

Surely we ought to prize the inheritance of our Catholic faith. Still more we ought to make ourselves worthy of it, for it does not live as a philosophy, a theory or an ideal, but in the *lives* of its children, who transmit from generation to generation, through all the centuries, its power and its charm, all its significance and its countless utilities.

It is often said, and with much truth, that it is a young man's world. All the more reason for a frank and conscious loyalty to our Catholic faith and life. The power of example is in proportion to the standing and authority of the individual. Where youth, therefore, exercises admittedly a great influence, the expression of one's Catholic faith has all the weight of a decisive argument. For faith has by no means lost its intrinsic charm, and the world continues to pay an unsolicited homage to faith, even when it will not rise to its heavenly level. The young Catholic student needs only to live as he would in his family or amid the conditions of his boyhood. Let him also take active interest in one or more of the good Catholic works that now abound and solicit the sympathy and goodwill of our younger men. Seventy odd years ago a young French professor in the University of France, Frederic Ozanam, organized the Catholic youth of Paris in favor of the poor and the needy, and to-day the world over the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul are doing an incalculable good. Our American cities, great and small, offer many opportunities of charitable service, many openings to young hearts that would love to serve Jesus Christ in His suffering members, or to aid holy Church in its manifold conflict with sin and wrong.

Let the spirit of charity inform your daily lives, and spread its good odor among your companions and your acquaintances. It is irresistible. A kindly unselfish temper, consideration for the feelings and the circumstances of others, a readiness to aid one's friend in difficulty or distress,

to make a sacrifice for the common good, in a word, all the little amenities of daily intercourse, are a kind of apostolate, when cultivated in a Catholic sense and for the honor and influence of our holy religion. Did not Our Lord say that a glass of cold water given in His name should not go without its reward?

I would say, finally, that the quiet unobtrusive religious life of a Catholic student never goes unobserved and is therefore never without a power and charm that are the atmosphere of sincere and practical faith. The Catholic student who will frequent the sacraments, assist occasionally at the daily Mass, or pay a brief visit to Our Lord as he passes the church door; who will not be ashamed to assist at the Catholic devotions of his parish, or to be known to the local clergy as a man of good will, can hope for the blessing of God on his health and his studies, all the more if he never forgets the tender piety toward our Blessed Mother, that he learned at the knees of his own mother, or quite naturally in the deeply religious life of a Catholic school.

The Annual Convention of the Catholic Educational Association, held at Louisville, Ky., in the first week of July was one of the largest ever held by the organization. Three Bishops attended its deliberations. Rt. Rev. Bishop Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University of America was re-elected President General.

As Secretary General the convention re-elected Rt. Rev. Francis W. Howard, Bishop of Covington. The Vice-Presidents General also were re-elected, as follows: Rt. Msgr. John B. Peterson, Boston; Very Rev. James A. Burns, C. S. C., Notre Dame; and Rev. Dr. Ralph Hunt, San Francisco. Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis T. Moran of Cleveland was re-elected Treasurer General.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Joseph F. Smith, P. R., of New York, again was chosen President of the Parish School Department and Rev. Felix N. Pitt of Louisville was added as a vice-president of this department. Rev. John B. Furay, S. J., of the Seminary of St. Mary of the Lake at Mundelein, Ill., was re-elected President of the Seminary Department, and Very Rev. Bernard P. O'Reilly, S. M., of Dayton, was elected President of the Department of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Among the resolutions passed by the convention was one which declared that "according to the spirit and law of the Church, every Catholic child should be educated in Catholic schools and Catholic surroundings and environments, and this principle applies to college and university students as well as to primary and secondary schools." The resolution also declared: "The Association recognizes the important principle that education has a value in itself as perfecting the intelligence and heart of man, entirely apart from any value which may attach to it as furthering the material advancement of the individual in practical life."

Previously the College section of the Department of Colleges and Secondary schools had adopted a resolution which declared that religious courses in

secular colleges are no substitute for the teaching found in Catholic colleges, and that attendance at secular colleges by Catholics is merely tolerated.

Close to a thousand nuns attended the convention. They were entertained each day by the Federation of Catholic Alumnae, and used the cafeteria of the Manuel Training High School, through the courtesy of the Louisville Board of Education.

During the torrid days of July several distinguished European priests visited the Catholic University. The most notable was his Eminence Cardinal Dubois, Archbishop of Paris who was accompanied by Archbishop Leynaud of Algiers, Bishop Grente of LeMans, Bishop Chaptal, Auxiliary of Paris, and several members of the Parisian clergy.

The Cardinal and his party were met at Union Station on their arrival in Washington by the Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University; Monsignor George A. Dougherty, vice-rector of the University; the Rev. Dr. Bernard A. McKenna of the National Shrine; Count de Sartiges, Chargé d'Affaires, and Jules Henry, first Secretary of the French Embassy; Patrick J. Haltigan, K. SS.; J. Leo Kolb, K. SS., and Cornelius Ford, president, and Matthew J. Noone, secretary of the Washington section of the Holy Name Society, and others.

The first place Cardinal Dubois, the archbishop, bishops and priests of his party visited was the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception.

"It is so beautiful, so unique," exclaimed Cardinal Dubois in French after he had seen the crypt. "Every detail is perfect and has a meaning. Its style links the Church of the East with the Church of the West."

Thursday morning was given over to the inspection of the Catholic University. In the afternoon a luncheon was given to the visitors in Caldwell Hall.

There were present at the luncheon: Major-General Tasker H. Bliss, U. S. A., Colonel H. P. Birmingham, U. S. A., the Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P., Mr. Henry, Count de Sartiges, and Rev. Dr. Henri Hyvernat, Professor of Oriental Languages at the University and an international celebrity.

Speaking in French, Bishop Shahan, Rector of the University, called attention to the fact that Cardinal Dubois was the first Prince of the Church from France and the first Archbishop of Paris to visit the United States.

The Rector referred to the great assistance and support France has given the Church in this country. He called attention to the fact that the City of Washington was laid out by a Frenchman, Major L'Enfant.

Cardinal Dubois replied, also in French, that he was very grateful for the reception he had received everywhere in the United States. Wherever he went he was most cordially welcome, but at the Catholic University he felt at home, he said.

He paid tribute to the University's magnificence and said that it held great promise for the future. It is wonderfully equipped and magnificently administered, he said, attributing all of its glory to Bishop Shahan. "For you,

Bishop Shahan," he said, "we have a feeling of reverence, admiration and gratitude."

Continuing he thanked the Rector for having General Bliss as a guest at the luncheon. The signer of the Versailles Treaty was much loved in France and he was glad that they should be together at the luncheon.

He called attention to the fact that the French Ambassador is in his native country, saying: "He is in France, working for France and the United States—working for a better understanding and a better union between the two nations."

Later in conversation with the writer His Eminence gave expression to his "amazement" regarding the progress of the University and particularly its admirable work for the training of Catholic Teaching Sisterhoods. He honored the summer school by being photographed with the teaching staff and the entire student body.

For the first time in the history of the Church in England, Mass according to the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom was sung in Old Slavonic at the Jesuit Church in Farm Street recently. The celebrant was Father Charles Bourgeois, S.J., of the Oriental Rite, who has founded several Russan Catholic parishes in Poland.

The prayers recited by the deacon or lay assistant at the beginning of the Mass were said by Captain Count Bennigsen, formerly a member of the Russian Orthodox body, who was received into the Catholic Church at the Dominican Priory in London.

Count Bennigsen served with the British forces in Russia after the World War, and won the British Military Cross.

Three eminent alumni of the college in old Rome where the East and West meet, and the North and South—the Urban College for the Propagation of the Faith, familiarly called the Propaganda College—were reunited by the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago.

It happens that Cardinal Bonzano, Papal Legate to the Eucharistic Congress; Cardinal Mundelein, its sponsor, and Archbishop Curley, the preacher on Children's Day, all are alumni of this international school.

The tidal wave of religion that brough so many priests from far and near to Chicago these days deposited many other Propaganda ex-students upon its hospitable shores. And so it came about that they met, upon the invitation of Father Boland of the Diocese of Buffalo, *capo gruppo* of the American branch of Propaganda alumni.

The Primate of Serbia, Archbishop Dobrevic, and Archbishop McNeil, of Toronto, also clasped hands for the first time since school days. Many other college friendships were renewed.

Monsignor Dini, Rector of Propaganda, who brought the rich monstrance from Rome that was used during the Eucharistic procession, outlined the plans

for a new college building on the Janiculum, and obtained the pledge of the assembled prelates and priests to further the building programme. England, Ireland, Newfoundland, New Zealand and Canada, as well as the United States, were represented at the meeting.

Dr. Otto H. F. Vollbehr, a German collector of Papal manuscripts, who came to Chicago to attend the Eucharistic Congress, presented to Cardinal Mundelein several manuscript writings of medieval Popes. The manuscripts included:

Thirty letters written by Pope Gregory XVI to Mgr. Capaccini, with some of the letters dated when the Pope was Cardinal Capellari.

A letter from Pope Clement VII to the Cardinal Camerlengo.

An indulgence from Pope Alexander VII to the Confraternity of Maseret.

An instruction of Pope Benedict XIV to the Metropolitan Church of Poletan.

A papal bull with the leaden seal of Pope Clement XIV.

Cardinal Mundelein is an arden bibliophile and a collector of incunabula. A number of fifteenth century prints were shown to him by the German collector and he spent a long time examining them. A missal printed in Salvic letters was shown to the Cardinal by Dr. Vollbehr. An incomplete copy of the same book is in the library of the Vatican.

Another book which Dr. Vollbehr displayed to Cardinal Mundelein was a valuable Italian manuscript of the Middle Ages—the "Officium Mortuorum" (the book of death rites). It is illuminated by Attavanto Delgi Attavanti, a Florentine miniaturist, who did the work on commission of the consort of Alfonso II, King of Naples.

The importance of the Irish language as an indicator of national progress was remarkably emphasized recently.

The Protestant Archbishops Gregg and Millar, at synods, followed the example of the Catholic hierarchy by adopting a sympathetic attitude toward the Irish language.

At the same time, for the first time in history, the high court in Dublin dealt with a whole case in the Irish language.

While the Catholic hospitals in the United States number only 750 out of 6,700, a great many of the non-Catholic hospitals are comparatively small in size. The average number of beds in all the hospitals is only slightly above 100, while the Catholic hospital average is considerably higher than that. The director general of the American College of Surgeons, one of whose main functions has been the standardisation of hospitals, declared not long ago at a banquet of the Catholic Hospital Association that about 50 per cent of all the bed provision in the general hospitals of the United States and Canada is in the care of Catholic Sisters. They control a great many of the very large hospitals of the country, and it is said that they actually accommodate about four million patients every year.

The peerless representative among the Sisters' hospitals in this country is, of course, St. Mary's, in the comparatively little town of Rochester (less than 10,000 people), in Minnesota. This is the great St. Mary's Hospital with 600 beds in which the Mayo brothers do all their wonderful work. It is well known that the Mayos have the feeling that a great part of the success of their work is due to the meticulous care which the Sisters take of their patients. Dr. Will Mayo is reported to have said that, if he had to have a serious surgical operation himself, he would want to be sure that the Sisters were in charge of the operating room and that one of them in particular, who has been present at his operations now for many years, would be there and would be consulted as to details of the operation. St. Mary's, since the erection of its recent magnificent building, must probably be considered the greatest hospital in the world.—(Dr. James J. Walsh, in *Studies*.)

Mother Mary Alphonsa Lathrop, O. S. D., daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the novelist, but more widely known and loved for her own achievements in the realm of Catholic charities, died on July 7th, at Hawthorne, N. Y., Rosary Hill home, an institution she herself founded for the care of penniless cancer victims. Heart disease was the cause of death.

Mother Alphonsa was 75 years old at her death, and was superior of the mother house and novitiate of the Sisters of St. Dominic, Congregation of St. Rose of Lima. Men and women of all creeds had praised without stint her long service to suffering humanity, which was rendered without qualification except that the sufferer be incurable and poor. Only three months ago a gold medal was awarded her for her humanitarian work.

Mother Alphonsa, as a daughter of Nathaniel Hawthorne, was of the Unitarian faith. She was married in 1871 to George Parsons Lathrop, also of that faith, in London. For years literary work filled their lives, Mrs. Parsons being a writer of short stories and articles on various activities. Their only child, a son, died in boyhood.

In 1891 both of the Lathrops renounced the Unitarian faith and were baptized Catholics in the Paulist church, New York. The announcement created a storm of public discussion.

Some years afterward, Mrs. Lathrop again astonished her friends by announcing that she would devote the rest of her life to the aid of cancer suffers. Mr. Lathrop died in 1898. Establishing herself in a dingy New York tenement house, Mrs. Lathrop took up her work. The struggle was severe, but eventually she had her own house where the sufferers were cared for. She became universally loved on the East Side.

In 1899 she took the veil as a nun. With four companions she established a cottage where 17 patients were cared for. Then there arose a five-story building on Jackson Street in New York City which was named St. Rose's Free Home for Incurable Cancer. Cardinal Farley dedicated it. As patients increased, Mother Alphonsa and her companions organized the Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer, which was incorporated into the Dominican Order, with Mother Alphonsa

as Superior. After 30 years, the order now has facilities capable of caring for 200 persons, with the two houses, on Jackson Street and at Hawthorne.

Mother Alphonsa was active until her death. Her institutions were conducted wholly by individual gifts. When she needed money she said so in the newspapers, giving the specific thing for which it was to be used. She usually got it. Contributions of late had come from many parts of the country. She invariably insisted upon caring for the worst cases in the home herself.

The community Mother Alphonsa founded now has 27 Sisters, three movices and two postulants.

The Federal Trade Commission in its survey of the wealth of the United States finds that a relatively small proportion of the resources of the country is devoted to religious, educational, and benevolent institutions.

The total wealth of the country is put at 353 billion dollars for 1922. The total wealth of the so-called non-profit institutions is 14.5 billion dollars. On the basis of these figures, a trifle more than four per cent of the entire wealth of the United States is devoted to the spiritual side of existence, the training of the young to meet the battle of existence and the care of the indigent and the afflicted.

The Catholic Church stands at the head of the religious organizations in the amount of tangible wealth devoted to religious activities. The aggregate total is estimated to be $3,271,558,000. Of this amount $2,820,000,000 represents the investment in church property, churches, parsonages and land. Funds, invested by various churches in productive enterprise, amount to $387,000,000; and the remainder is in the form of trusts and endowments for specific purposes.

Taking the total church membership for the entire country as 47,500,000, the Commission finds that the *per capita* wealth of religious organizations is $69 for each church member.

The Catholic Church is found to be the largest single denomination both in point of membership and the first in point of property owned. Its membership is estimated to be 38 per cent of the total. The estimated value of its church property, however, was found to be only 23 per cent of the total. From this it would appear that the *per capita* wealth of the Church is considerably less than that of several of the other denominations. In this respect the Protestant Episcopal Church stands at the head of the list, with $223 of wealth per member, as compared with the general average of $69. The Christian Science Church falls within the same class of "wealthy" churches, although precise figures upon which to base an estimate are lacking.

The relative standing of the denominations in the order of their holdings of church properties, that is, land and buildings devoted to religious uses, was as follows in 1922:

Catholic	$648,091,000
Methodist	535,924,000
Presbyterian	336,762,000
Baptist	326,264,000

Protestant Episcopal	249,422,000
Lutheran	189,965,000
Congregational	147,736,000
All other	386,058,000

In its preliminary report, the Commission says: "The non-profit institutions included in the Commission's study were (1) religious organizations, (2) benevolent institutions, (3) educational institutions, and (4) miscellaneous foundations and community trusts and public trusts. Estimates based on returns from the Commission's schedules, and on earlier studies of the Census Bureau and other bodies, indicates a total wealth of about 14.5 billion dollars for those institutions in 1922. Of this total educational institutions had an estimated 7.6 billions, while religious organizations had 3.3 billions, benevolent institutions 2.4 billions, and foundations and community trusts and public trusts 1.2 billions.

"Of the estimated 3.3 billion dollars wealth of religious organizations (all private), about 2.8 billions, or 86 per cent, is in churches, parsonages and land, while 12 per cent is in outside income-producing investments; and two per cent consists of endowments for specific purposes.

"Of the estimated two and a quarter billion dollars of wealth in benevolent institutions for material relief, at least one and three-fourths billions is in privately-owned institutions. Over half of the wealth of these private institutions is represented by that of hospitals and sanitariums and about 23 per cent is represented by that of homes for adults and for adults and children.

"Of the estimated 7.6 billion dollars of wealth in educational institutions, about 3.5 billion is in private schools and colleges, 3 billion in public schools and colleges, 0.8 billion in libraries, and 0.2 billion in museums and historical societies."

The finding of the Commission in regard to the wealth invested in educational institutions is probably the most significant in the entire report. As measured by this standard, the importance of the private institutions in the educational system of the United States outweighs that of the public schools and colleges, the investment of the former being a half billion dollars greater.

The conclusion is of particular interest in the light of the contention, advanced by some persons, that education should be solely in the hands of the State. To take over the entire system, as now constituted, it would be necessary for the government, Federal and State, to raise three and one-half billion dollars, more than the aggregate tax reductions made since the war, or approximately one-sixth of the public debt.

During a visit to England in the early days of July His Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain received the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law at the hands of the Chancellor of the University of Oxford last Monday. This is the third time in the history of Oxford that a reigning monarch has attended in person to receive a degree.

At the same time it was announced that the foundation of a Spanish chair to be named after King Alfonso was now secure, and would shortly be in-

augurated to promote the study of Spanish language and literature, together with the economic and financial conditions of the Spanish-speaking people throughout the world.

The King, with the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquesa Merry del Val, and other guests were entertained to luncheon at Wadham College. The Queen of Spain was unavoidably prevented from being present. The Sheldonian Theatre was crowded for the ceremony which followed. As the King entered with the Chancellor the Spanish National Anthem was played on the organ.

After the Latin speech of the Public Orator, which referred to the King as "Princeps Catholicus Alphonsus," and alluded to his great work for prisoners during the war, Viscount Cave, the Chancellor, conferred the degree. In a short speech he said that the esteem which all Englishmen felt for Spain was concentrated in no small degree in the deep respect and admiration which they had for his Majesty.

The King of Spain's speech in reply was frequently interrupted by loud applause and cheering, especially when he said that he would not have broken silence on such an occasion but for the example of the Prince of Wales, "than which I want none better."

Continuing, his Majesty said: "This great centre of English learning that bears the name of Oxford has acquired through a long chain of centuries and the unceasing development, marvellously wise, of its primitive foundations, a fame so great and wide that few such other seats of knowledge can bear with it comparison. So high does it stand in all men's regard that there is none who would not feel proud to find himself associated with such a record in the past, such a standard of science in the present.

"Moreover, if it be true that for the first time in history a Spanish Sovereign has received a degree from your great University and treads its halls for the first time, Oxford possesses long-standing ties with Spain, identified with the names of a great teacher, Juan Luis Vives, and a good Queen, Katherine of Aragon, whose blood flows in my veins."

Pilgrims returning from the Eucharistic Congress to their homes will completely change the European viewpoint of the United States, said His Eminence, Cardinal Reig y Casanova, Primate of Spain, in an interview given to a representative of the N. C. W. C. *News Service*.

Heretofore, Cardinal Casanova said, Europe has marveled at the material accomplishments of America and admired them, but has believed that material things had shut out the spiritual from American life.

The pilgrims will convince Europeans that such a viewpoint is wrong.

His Eminence told how all the Spanish bishops, under his leadership, had sent the persecuted Catholics of Mexico a letter of condolence over their plight, how he and the other bishops of the country had directed that prayers be said for the relief of the Mexicon people, and how at the Eucharistic Congress, in

addressing Mexican audiences, he had repeatedly promised to do everything in his power for their assistance.

Particularly, said His Eminence, he wished to express his thanks to Archbishop Curley for his energetic fight for the religious freedom of the Mexicans.

A new society of priests has been founded in France under the name of "Missionaries of the Sea," by a former chaplain of the French Navy, Canon Revel, of the clergy of Toulon.

Without taking vows, the Missionaries of the Sea pledge themselves to live in obedience and poverty. In addition to theological and spiritual training of the highest order, they will receive special professional training also, since special knowledge is needed in order to deal with sailors in order to remember their names, their habits and customs and conditions of life.

Statistics issued by the sub-secretariat of State for the Navy indicate that there are 250,000 Frenchmen living at sea, of whom about 50,000 are little fishermen who return to port virtually every night, spend Sunday at home and, for the most part, remain practical Christians.

But the 60,000 sailors of the fleet have very few chaplains. As for the 140,000 seamen of the merchant marine, they are veritable vagabonds of the sea and are perhaps the most neglected Catholics in the world. In some ports there are, of course, some homes and shelters, but far from enough. As for hearing the Word of God, it is the rarest experience in their lives unless they themselves go to church of their own accord.

The existence of priests especially devoted to an apostolate among seamen on shipboard and in ports will mark real progress in this respect.

The *Tablet* (July 3) discussing the recent presentation by Cardinal Gasquet to the Holy Father of a copy of the revised Book of Genesis says:

> Last Wednesday's *Manchester Guardian* contained a valuable contribution, a whole column in length, from the paper's Rome Correspondent on the new critical text of the Vulgate. The announcement that our venerated fellow-countryman Cardinal Gasquet had been received by the Sovereign Pontiff a fortnight ago, and had presented to His Holiness a copy of the revised Book of Genesis, has been misunderstood by many readers, who have fondly promised themselves that the Church can henceforth be held to explicit declarations on the Seven Days of Creation, on the Mosaic or composite authorship of the Pentateuch, and so on. No such task has occupied the Biblical Commission over which Cardinal Gasquet has so learnedly and diligently presided for a dozen years. The Commission was appointed to give us the nearest possible approximation to the text of the Vulgate as it left the pen of St. Jerome more than fifteen hundred years ago. Into this text innumerable corruptions have crept. As early as the year 1000 there were 700 versions of the Vulgate which can still be traced. By means of photography, Cardinal Gasquet and his fellow-laborers have been able to collate the most important of these versions

with the famous 1592 edition of Clement VIII, special copies of which (printed without punctuation and without capital letters) were supplied to the hundreds of Benedictine monks who are laboring for the Commission. The scrutinies of these photographs and the subsequent adjudications by the Commission on their various readings have not been confined to the Book of Genesis, and therefore we may expect to receive without delay the remaining books of the Pentateuch.

Among other misconceptions against which the *Manchester Guardian's* able correspondent warns his readers is the notion that this critical restoration of the Vulgate text will involve an early revision of the Missal and the Breviary. No such liturgical revision is imminent. For liturgical purposes the long-received text will stand. Further, there is no question of proclaiming St. Jerome's wonderful version as more than what it is; namely an imperishable monument of a scholar-Saint's proficiency in Hebrew and expressiveness in Latin. Questions as to the comparative value of the Septuagint and of the available Hebrew MSS. remain to be discussed on their own merits. St. Jerome, however, must have had access not only to very ancient codices which have since perished but also to oral traditions which were afterwards corrupted or lost. A sound Jeromian text, established on scientific principles from the widest possible induction of the surviving data, cannot therefore be negligible whenever an Old Testament reading is in dispute. We are proud to remember that the genius and piety of an English Cardinal have inspired the solid scholarship of the Commission; and, without waiting for St. Aidan's Day, eight weeks hence, we ought all earnestly to pray that His Eminence may be given years of health and strength to continue these admirable labours.

Few are cognizant of the immense labour required for the critical edition of the Vulgate. On this first volume work has been proceeding, with some interruptions due to the war, since 1907. In that year his Holiness Pius X, acting on the advice of the Biblical Commission, invited the Benedictine Order, through its Primate, to accept responsibility for the work. Under the guidance of his Eminence Cardinal Gasquet the Commission has amply justified its acceptance of the task. Over fifty members of the Order, gather from various countries, put their outstanding abilities at the disposal of the Commission. The head centre in Rome was the Palace of San Callisto, where all documents, codexes, and manuscripts available were assembled. Progress in matters of this kind must necessarily be slow. Manuscripts and codexes not at hand, but scattered in the various libraries of the world, had to be consulted, photographed, and co-ordinated. As a result of all this labour there can be seen to-day at San Callisto over three hundred volumes of photographic plates, almost all done by one man—Father Quentin. The existing edition of the Vulgate was then most minutely compared with the original codexes where possible, and, where this was not possible, with a photographic reproduction of the text. As can easily be imagined, work of this nature involves almost infinite patience.

The death recently of M. l'Abbé Fernand Portal has caused the resumption of the Malines Conversations, already interrupted by the death of Cardinal Mercier, to be postponed.

Abbé Portal, who at the time of his death was seventy-one, was born of humble parentage at the little village of La Roque in the Cevennes. At the age of nineteen he joined the Lazarists, and after his ordination became Professor in the Grande Seminaire at Nice and at Paris, where later he was the students' chaplain at l'Ecole Normale Supérieure.

His connection with Lord Halifax and the Anglicans began when he was spending the winter of 1889-90 in Madeira. From Lord Halifax he obtained his first impressions of Anglicanism, and, attracted by the picture then presented to him, began to work for the "reunion" of that body with the Catholic Church.

In the early nineties he published a pamphlet on Anglican Orders, under the pseudonym of "F. Dalbus." He engaged in other forms of propaganda, including the conduct of the short-lived *Revue Anglo-Romaine*. In 1894 he spent some time in England in the company of Lord Halifax, visiting Anglican churches and interviewing prominent members of that body, omitting, however, the courtesy of any visit to the Catholic authorities.

When Pope Leo XIII appointed a Commission to examine Anglican Orders, he was all the time the friend and mentor of the Anglican group. It was largely owing to his representations that Pope Leo XIII conceived the notion that the Anglican hierarchy were ready to make their submission, an illusion which it was necessary for Cardinal Vaughan to dispel. In Rome the Abbé went about continually in Lord Halifax's train, and was commonly known as *il capellano di milord*—"My Lord's Chaplain."

In 1896 he again visited England, where at meetings of Anglicans he was unsparing in his criticisms of English Catholics, and especially of Cardinal Vaughan, whom he openly said was the great obstacle to re-union.

The condemnation of Anglican Orders brought these open activities to an end, and it was not till 1920 that the Abbé again came into prominence as the prime instigator of the Conversations at Mechlin.

The activities of the Abbé Portal were distressing to English Catholics, but they were to be attributed to his complete misapprehension of the true state of affairs. If his zeal was misdirected it was due to natural inability to comprehend the unique character of the Established Church. That he could not compass what for any foreigner—especially a Latin—is almost impossible is a sufficient apology. At the most it can be said that he was indiscreet in so completely identifying himself with one side in the dispute. R.I.P.

The American Historical Association has announced the organization of a world-wide association of scholars to advance the aims of history.

Provisional headquarters of the new association will be established in Washington, and the secretariat will function through the Institute of Intellectual Coöperation in Paris.

A permanent international committee of historical sciences, with Prof. M. Koht, of the University of Oslo, Norway, as president, has been formed, and arrangements made for an international congress of historians at Oslo in 1928.

Learned societies of nineteen nations, including Germany, Russia and Austria, as well as the principal allied countries, are backing the committee. Contacts disrupted in 1914 by the world war will be resumed and international congresses held every five years.

The formation of the international committee is the outgrowth of a movement started in 1923 by the American delegates to a conference of historians in Brussels. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller memorial has contributed $25,000 to the committee for its work, and means by which it may be permanently financed are being considered by its treasurer, Waldo G. Leland, executive secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies.

In its issues of June 17th the *Osservatore Romano*, in an article entitled "A Scandalous Publication," calls attention to the fact that M. Jacques Bainville, one of the editorial staff of the Paris *Action Française*, is publishing a popular edition of Voltaire's works of fiction, supplementing them with anecdotes collected from his *Dictionnaire Philosophique* and his other writings. This enterprise has, moreover, been advertised by a laudatory article in the *Action Française*, which recommends these writings of Voltaire as containing much that has a useful bearing on the life of our own time, mentioning incidentally as a testimony to their value that the chief editor of the paper, M. Charles Maurras, makes a practice of reading one of them over again in each year of his life. The *Osservatore*, while declaring that it is not raising any question as to the political programme of the *Action Française*, expresses its surprise and regret that a newspaper which poses as a Catholic organ should thus associate itself with a new edition of works that are banned by the Church as of a distinctly anti-Catholic and immoral tendency.

Commenting on this a recent issue of the *Catholic Times* says:

The *Action Française* is often described as a Catholic newspaper, and its utterances have sometimes been quoted in the English Press as representing French Catholic opinion. It would be more correct to describe it as a party organ of the Orleanist group, anti-Republican and anti-democratic, and combating the anti-Catholic policy of the left as part of its political plan of action. Of its editorial staff, Charles Maurras is the author of books disfigured by semi-pagan decadence in matters of morality, and Léon Daudet has published novels that are only somewhat less objectionable than the stories of his colleague. Now we have another of the editorial staff appearing as a populariser of Voltaire. Such allies as these can only discredit the Catholic cause in France by posing as its champions. They have already done infinite harm by associating the defence of Catholic interests with open disloyalty to the Republic, in absolute disregard of the wise warnings of the Holy See, and the attitude taken by the French episcopate and that of the movement organized by General de Castelnau and the

Catholic Federation for the defence of Catholic freedom. There have been on the part of French Catholic journalists, who are true and worthy champions of the Catholic cause, not a few protests against the policy of the *Action Française*, and again and again Catholic critics have called attention to the lamentable literary escapades of its editors.

Plans for a permanent organization of the Indiana Catholic Historical Society were formulated at a meeting of about twenty-five persons, held at K. of C. home in Indianapolis on July 14.

A tentative plan of organization was read and a constitution and by-laws prepared, which will be adopted at the next meeting of the Society to take place early in the fall. At the fall meeting, several Catholic historians of national reputation will be asked to speak here and permanent officers of the society will be elected.

The object of the society is to promote interest in the Catholic history of Indiana by original research work and investigation and to properly chronicle the achievements of early Catholic pioneers and heroes of Indiana. Membership to the society will be sought among both clergy and laity and an active campaign for members will be started. James E. Deery of the city was appointed membership chairman.

A number of talks were made during the meeting. Rev. Albert Wicke spoke on Simon P. La Lumière, S. J., one of the first native Indiana priests born in Vincennes in 1804. In tracing the life of this remarkable priest, Father Wicke's researches extended over a period of many months in which he found it exceedingly difficult to determine the accuracy of dates because of conflicting records. Father La Lumière was twice vicar-general of the old Vincennes Diocese. His remains lie buried in St. Joseph's church at Terre Haute, where most of the records extant are to be found.

Father Wicke was followed by Joseph A. McGowan, who spoke on the early Catholic history of New England. He said that mass was celebrated in those parts six years before the landing of the *Mayflower*. Mr. McGowan deplored the lack of Catholic historical records from 1492 and 1620.

Judge James E. Deery, chairman of the K. of C. Fourth Degree committee on history, announced that over 100 essays written by pupils of Indianapolis Catholic high schools and academies had disclosed a wealth of new historical material and that these essays were now in the hands of judges for decision of awards.

Among the speakers at the meeting were J. L. Heineman, of Connersville; Charles P. Tighe, of New Albany. A number of Indianapolis priests and laymen also spoke briefly. These included Rev. Raymond Noll, Rev. Joseph Somes of the Cathedral; Thomas D. McGee, M. W. McCarthy and Henry Seyfried.

Humbert P. Pagani, business manager of the Indiana Catholic, spoke on the Indiana Sesqui-Centennial to be held at Vincennes in 1929.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, New York city, recently returned from Europe and gave an interview to The New York *Times* which indicated a great spiritual awakening in Germany. He said:

> "Another good sign in Germany, and which has been news to me, is the general turning toward religion. I believe Catholicism is making the most rapid strides. There is a feeling that pre-war Germany, as viewed from the present, was too materialistic, too scientific, with its art and literature; too matter-of-fact. The present religious trend will tone down that tendency, and it is fair to predict that within the next five or ten years Germany will enjoy one of the greatest ages in its cultural development, with art blended with ideals and inspired by religious thought."

The Washington *Star* (July 23) states:

A report comes from New Orleans that a full account of Christopher Columbus' last voyage, a roster of his crews, their wages and all incidents of the trip are said by Dr. Rudolph Schuler, archeologist, to be contained in manuscripts brought here by him from Central America. Dr. Schuler has conducted archeological and linguistic research in Central America for twenty-seven years. Many scholars have worked to gather data relating to Columbus and his four voyages to America, but it need not be assumed that they have found all documents bearing on Columbus' work. It may be that Dr. Schuler has made a rare find.

The last voyage of Columbus to America was made in 1502, and he returned to Spain in 1504, dying at Valladolid two years later. The papers of Dr. Schuler would have to do with Columbus' travels along the Carribbean cost of the Isthmus of Darien in seeking to find a passage to the west, which would lead to the Spice Islands.

In a history of the Isthmus of Darien, or Panama, it is written that "a notary of Triana named Bastidas sailed along the Caribean coast of the isthmus in 1501, Balboa being one of his companions. At the end of 1502 and beginning of 1503 Columbus carefully examined the region immediately west of the Gulf of Darien."

In a biography of Columbus not much is said of his examination of the coast of the isthmus. Much of that chapter has to do with shipwreck and other trouble. Columbus made the voyage from Spain in "four slender ships," and arriving on this side of the Atlantic and desiring to make repairs to his ships, he was refused permission to enter the port of San Domingo, which he had founded on the Island of Hispaniola (Haiti), which he had discovered on his first voyage of 1492. Keeping on his course after this ungracious treatment, it is told briefly that two of his ships were lost in a storm and two wrecked, evidently meaning that they went ashore. These disasters must have come upon the squadron after Columbus had examined the coast of Darien, for after the shipwreck one finds him in Jamaica, whence he dispatches some of his followers in canoes to San Do-

mingo for help. The report is that the governor of that place refused to help the admiral, but that those who made the voyage in canoes procured a ship and relieved Columbus. In that ship he made his return to Spain. A "full account" of the fourth voyage would be a valuable addition to knowledge.

The small town of Saint-Die in the Department of Vosges, which calls itself "America's godmother," because it was here that for the first time the word "America" was printed, celebrated in July a sesqui-centennial with a gala display of flags and buntings.

The house occupied 400 years ago by a druggist named Serre, who is credited with referring to the new continent by the name "America," yesterday was the scene of a fête in which municipal authorities participated. A large number of American tourists flocked to the house to witness the installation of a commemorative plaque.

The New York *Times* in "Notes on Rare Books (June 7) says:

The first book from the Aldine Press in which the pages are regularly numbered was the first complete edition of the "Epistles" of Pliny Secundus, 1508. This volume, a problem in typography and bibliography, has been painstakingly and elaborately dissected by Mr. G. P. Winship. The report of his research is to be found in the "separate" reprinted from the "Transaction of the Bibliographical Society (The Library)," 1926, entitled "The Aldine Pliny of 1508."

The peculiarities of this book offer some details from which interesting, though not wholly conclusive, evidence may be derived on the manner in which work was arranged in the printing establishment. Mr. Winship suggests that it is important, in any consideration of the printing practices of the half century after Gutenberg, to keep in mind two factors:

One is that labour at that time was so cheap that it was possible to do many time-consuming things which would now cost prohibitively. The other it that printing was invented because labour costs had risen so high that bookmaking by handwriting was too expensive; or else, what amounts to the same thing, because so many people had money enough to indulge themselves in the luxury of buying reading matter that the older method could not supply the demand. In other words, a master printer of 1500 did not think first of his labour cost, but he did regard labour as something to watch and economize, because it was costing more than it had formerly.

We confess ourself most impressed by the highly interesting deductions Mr. Winship makes. It reveals how highly scientific the work of a well-informed bibliographer may be, and how important are the conclusions which may be acquired through bibliographical evidence. Many editors of old texts, who should be able to do this kind of work, intricate and difficult

as it is, are amazingly ignorant of even its rudiments. Consequently there are avoidable and occasionally absurd errors in their work.

Mr. Winship's assumptions relating to the divisions of labor in an early sixteenth century printing establishment seem to us very tenable. The Pliny was possibly the first book which was handled in a different manner than its predecessors in Aldine's shop. It is to the matter of this innovation that Mr. Winship devotes himself. It would be an advantage to be able to consolidate the conclusions to which he comes in this column, but we cannot in this space hope to follow him through the intricacies of his bibliographical research. His brochure is recommended to the students of early typography, who will be glad to turn to any essay from the hand of Mr. Winship.

An excellent and most learned article from the pen of Frederic W. Goudy is to be found in the now classic "Ars Typographica," Volume II, No. 3. This is "The Roman Alphabet, Its Origin and Esthetic Development." In this history of our most common type character its progress from its earliest sources is traced. The Latin alphabet was at first practically identical with the Greek; its eventual dominance came about through the political supremacy of Rome. The old Roman symbols reflect, too, the Roman character and energy, rough and vigorous and severely simple. There are no flourishes in it and no useless or meaningless lines.

Since the time of Christ, at least, the Roman capital has been unsurpassed among all letters for beauty and character. The Trajan Column at Rome, with its inscription cut about 114 A. D., is probably the finest of all early examples of Roman capitals still left to us.

A number of helpful illustrations add a further merit to Mr. Goudy's thoughtful and comprehensive essay, which is certainly worth the careful attention of students of typography.

In the same number of "Ars Typographica" its publisher, Douglas C. McMurtrie, contributes an account of the "First Printing in South America."

A Scottish Protestant correspondent of the *Glasgow Observer* in its issue of June 13th protested against the claim that the Celtic missionaries of the early Middle Ages on the Continent of Europe were Irishmen, suggested that St. Columbanus, the most famous of them all and St. Gall were Scotsmen. He was obviously misled by overlooking the somewhat elementary historical fact that, in the centuries when the Celtic missionaries were winning new lands to Catholicity and founding monasteries in Gall, Germany, and Italy, "Scotia" was a name of Ireland, and its people were described as "Scoti." He made the daring assertion that there was not one single writer of the time who asserted that either Columbanus or Gall came from Ireland. In the *Observer* of June 20 Dr. Clark, of Glasgow University (the author of a recently published history of the Abbey of St. Gall), replies by quoting, from the writings of men who belonged to the very time of the Celtic missions, distinct assertions that both Columbanus and Gall came "ex Hybernia"—"from Ireland."

In the same issue of the *Observer*, Mr. Arthur Machen, in his weekly causerie, writes of the Celtic Church as "a mystery" about which little is known, and of its liturgy as having left hardly a trace. If Mr. Machen will turn to the article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* on the Celtic Liturgies, the work of Dr. Henry Jenner, of the British Museum, he will discover that there is still available no small amount of material for the study of this ancient liturgy, and that it has been made the subject of a fairly considerable number of works of expert investigators in recent years.

It is announced from Cologne that Msgr. Joseph Wilpert, famous German writer on historical and archaeological subjects, has been appointed by Pope Pius XI., Director of the Papal Chancery, according to word received here. It was only recently that Monsignor Wilpert, who already was a member of the Pontifical Commission on Sacred Archaeology and of the Commission on Sacred Art, was appointed a professor of the new University for Christian Archaeology in Rome.

Formerly many German priests were appointed to offices in the Papal Chancery but the post with which Monsignor Wilpert has now been honored has not been held by a German for many years.

A comparison between the situation of the Catholic religion in Mexico and in the United States, with a tribute to the tolerance in the United States, is made in an article recently published in the *Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican organ.

Recalling the splendid statements of the United States' attitude toward religion given at the Chicago Eucharistic Congress by Secretary of Labor Davis and Mayor Walker, of New York, the article observes that it is impossible that a religion, so exalted in the United States by a people living every liberty and exemplifying civilization and progress, should become bad only because it passed the Mexican frontier.

In conclusion, the article says: "The people of the United States, upholders of every liberty and creators of the most powerful State which is the advance guard in every civil conquest, renders favorable testimony to the Catholic religion before the tribunal of history and life."

Altogether one hundred and eighty members of the English Parliament have now signed the petition asking the Government to hasten the passage into law of the Catholic Relief Bill, which would abolish the disabilities imposed upon Catholics in penal days and still remaining on the Statute Books.

One of the leading newspapers in the country, the "Yorkshire Post," commenting on the petition says: "It is an iniquity that any civil disability should distress the subject whose loyalty to his Church is not, and cannot be, inconsistent with loyalty to his Sovereign. These disabilities are the relics of out-worn con-

troversies; they are archaic; they represent a temper which no longer governs the nation's policy; to countenance them is to be mean and uncharitable."

The article continues: "Though no one in his senses would dare to give the force of law to these numerous Catholic disabilities, members of the Church of Rome are potentially at the mercy of any religious fanatic who may happen to sit on the magisterial bench. . . . A Catholic regards disobedience to the civil authority as a sin. There are no stauncher adherents of authority than the Catholics."

The Fortnightly Review (St. Louis), says:

Joseph A. Lux, a German convert to the Church and a well-known author, published some time ago a volume entitled: "A thousand years of German Romanticism," which has given rise to a much controversy in Germany and Austria. His thesis is that the history of German literature was purposely falsified many years ago by Prussian Protestantism, which exaggerated the merits of the Weimar school with its exclusive attention to beauty of form, and left in the dark the merits of the romantic school which always looked first to the poetical value of the ideas expressed. Going through all epochs of German literature, Joseph A. Lux shows how Catholic principles inspired the finest works of literature, and that Catholics, even in recent times, produced many standard works which are thoroughly neglected by the popular literary histories of Berlin, which latter are often slavishly followed, even by Catholics. Catholic poets and writers are not mentioned, and for instance Grillparzer, a Catholic and an Austrian, one of the greatest men in German literature, is not at all given justice. Many do not even know his name, although they know all about Heine and other men of secondary value. Mr. Lux points out that Vienna was always and in every respect a much more important centre of German culture than Berlin, and when public opinion was forced to accept Berlin's leadership, great damage was done to Germany's cause and reputation throughout the world. Lux finally calls for a revision of the history of German literature. Lux's theory was naturally rejected by nearly all Protestant critics, and even German Catholics declared themselves against him. Now the well-known German magazine *Stimmen der Zeit* openly takes his part.

BOOK REVIEWS

Der deutsche Luther im Weltkrieg und in der Gegenwart. Geschichtliche Streifzüge. Von Hartmann Grisar, S.J. Augsburg: Hass & Grabherr Verlag.

"The German Luther in the World War and in present times" as portrayed by the author in a carefully substantiated monograph is not an attractive figure. In the very beginning of the war a sort of religious peace was indeed kept up for a brief period. But soon the Protestants of Germany not only began anew their usual attacks on the Catholic Church but started a crusade of glorification of Martin Luther. In a flood of speeches and publications the Wittenberg monk was extolled as the typical German, as the great genius ruling the minds of the fatherland. The Catholic part, one third of the population and army, was ignored or insulted. Several of Luther's writings again saw the light and were spread in enormous editions at home and at the front. With rather few exceptions the men who thus eulogized the Reformer did not believe in the divinity of Christ, nor were they so sure of the existence of any positive religion. But Luther had to be the champion of Germany, and probably no man was so much written and spoken about as he. It was to his influence upon the German people that they ascribed the victories of the first years of the war.

Father Grisar, true to his conciliatory methods, grants that there were in Luther's character some attractive features. But he shows by a number of quotations that the un-German and repulsive traits were by far the more numerous, by far the most prominent and dominant. Luther for instance approved of the rebellion of German princes against their emperor, and wrote violently against the wars which at his time the aggressiveness of the Turks forced upon the empire.

The noisy Luther propaganda greatly helped to alienate from Germany the minds of friends in other lands, and furnished a pretext to the Catholics of the enemy countries to launch attacks against the whole German people, involving with singular injustice the German Catholic in the same *Massa Damnata* and to stamp the war a religious contest.

The defeat of Germany, and more than this, the disappearance of the monarch, perfectly disorganized the Protestant sects. But it did not put a stop to the literary warfare of these followers of Luther. However, while unusually large numbers of Protestants found their way to the Mother Church, Luther's own Church now has to fight a struggle for its very existence. The trouble is, not only that its ecclesiastical organization went to pieces, but that the leaders of the new movement do not know what creed to put up. They know they cannot dream of enforcing any creed generally even upon the members of the former state Churches. Now that the exterior state power no longer puts a check on the arbitrary interpretations of articles of Faith, the Lutheran inheritance of the principle of private explanation of the Bible is bearing its full but natural fruit. (Even new prophets and Mesiases are heard of.) Father Grisar's article in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, "The Knell of German Protestantism" (1924-25, pp. 378 ff.) finds ample elucidation in this book.

The author also discusses the question what should be done to bring about a religious and with it a national revival. The Catholics he says are but too willing to cöoperate, and are already working vigorously for a renewal of their part of the population. But it will be necessary that the Protestants give up their idea of the "German Luther" and the talk of a German religion. The proclamation of a special "German God," so often repeated though by no means generally approved of, must cease. "The repulsive weapons wielded against the Catholic fellow citizens must be buried, and, as there was unity of all during the first period of the war, so now the common war cry ought to be: Unity of all against the common foe of revealed religion and Christian civilization."

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

An Episode in the Struggle for Religious Freedom. The Sectaries of Nuremberg, 1524-1528. By Austin Patterson Evans, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press.

The City of Nuremberg was one of the first "Free and Imperial Cities" of Germany which threw overboard the Catholic

religion and became officially Lutheran. But the banishment of Catholic priests and the suppression of the Catholic service did not save the city from the visit and activity of other non-Catholic sectaries, who explained the Bible differently from Martin Luther. The Nuremberg city council proceeded against them with imprisonment and exile. In the author's view they are champions of "religious liberty." The city council soon had its doubts as to the correctness of its policy, and seriously considered a milder attitude towards the dissenters. The author lays before us the opinions of great men concerning this point.

Luther's opinion naturally had very great weight. In the beginning of his rebellion against the Church he had held that instruction was the only weapon to be employed in propagating his ideas. But when he saw that an ever increasing crop of the most phantastic doctrines resulted from this policy, he gradually veered around. In their hearts, he thought, men might believe as they pleased. But the preaching and exercise of any religion not his own was evidently "blasphemy," which cannot be tolerated (page 198). The offenders must be punished by the secular authority, and if necessary, even turned over to "Master Hans" (the executioner). Thus a principle for relentless persecution was established. As far as Luther was concerned, the "struggle for religious liberty" was lost. Here and there, however, the voices of minor prophets were heard, which advocated clemency or the infliction of smaller penalties only, and the author lays great stress on these utterances. He sees in them the indications of times which were to dawn centuries later. With this outlook into the far future the book concludes.

We should indeed have liked to know what was the immediate effect of these partly conflicting theories upon the attitude of the city council of Nuremberg, and what shape the "struggle for religious freedom" really took in that city. The author merely states, on the last page of the book, "It is not meant to imply that persecution ceased about this time. On the contrary, it became even more bitter." The present reviewer thinks the author should have shown more explicitly in what concrete manner the persecution became more bitter. He should have informed us in a rather detailed way, how the town govern-

ment proceeded in its task of repressing blasphemy and punishing the blasphemers; how many persons, for instance, were incarcerated or exiled or handed over to "Master Hans." It is well known that the Protestant states had no mind at all to grant religious freedom as the word is understood to-day. It would have been very interesting to learn how one particular German state, the Free and Imperial City of Nuremberg, fought against religious freedom, and how much Luther's blood and iron theory had to do with the final establishment of the diminutive State Church of that city. The author's mysterious statement that the persecution became even more bitter, and the very last sentence of the text which speaks of "men who braved bitter persecution, accepting death rather than deny their consciences" can only serve to whet our curiosity.

It is somewhat strange, too, that only non-Catholics are made to figure as champions of religious freedom, while at the same time there was in Nuremberg a community of Poor Clares, who suffered for years the most outrageous treatment at the hands of the Nuremberg authorities, and braved the most bitter persecution, a persecution worse than death, rather than deny their consciences. (See the Life of *Charitas Pirkheimer*, von Franz Binder, or *History of the German People*, by J. Janssen, Vol. IV, pp. 65 ff.). The author faintly alludes to this fact in a footnote. He also gives in his bibliography the chief source of the history of this persecution, the *Denkwürdigkeiten von Charitas Pirkheimer* edited by Höfler. But the heroic nuns with their highly educated and manfully courageous abbess have found no place or mention in the text.

F. S. BETTEN, S.J.

The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America (1610-1791). With an Introduction by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Selected and Edited by Edna Kenton. New York: Published by Albert and Charles Boni. 1925. Pp. liv + 527.

No more opportune time than the present could have been chosen for the publication of this fascinating volume. The

world has just witnessed the formal beatification of eight of the early Jesuit missionaries of North America. They won their palm of martyrdom at the hands of those whose greatest benefactors they were. Nor is this the first time in the long course of centuries that the Church has raised to the dignity of the altars men no less famous for learning than sanctity. Her roll of honor includes prince as well as peasant, the savant as well as the unlettered. It is therefore with a feeling of reverence that we open the pages before us. As we scan the lines, we realize under what heavy obligations these members of the Society of Jesus have placed American historians. Their *Relations* are in the truest sense original sources. Well might Bancroft assert, "Not a cape was turned, not a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way." But their leading was prompted by no mere love of adventure, by no thirst for worldly fame. Their aim was only to win souls to Christ. In the pursuance of this lofty ambition they made large contributions to history, geography, ethnology, and philology.

From the beginning of their foundation, the Jesuits in the foreign missions wrote frequently and intimately to their superiors and brethren in Europe. In these letters, they stated the development of the missions, outlined their labors, and graphically described the obstacles overcome with the successes or failures that followed. In March, 1549, St. Francis Xavier assigned Ormus to the zeal of Father Gasper Barzaeus, and requested a written account of the mission to be regularly sent to him at Goa. Joan Beira recommended similar accounts to be sent to St. Ignatius at Rome and also to Father Simon Rodriguez at Lisbon. Such was the beginning of the famous *Jesuit Relations*, destined to bear abundant fruit, spiritually and scientifically, in the future.

The Jesuit Relations may be classified under three heads. First, the intimate and personal correspondence sent to the Father General, Superior or friends in Europe. Secondly, the annual letters intended only for members of the Order. Manuscript copies of these circulated from house to house. Extracts and analyses of them were made and compiled in a volume entitled *"Litterae Annuae Societatis Jesu ad patres et fratres*

ejusdem Societatis." It was absolutely forbidden to allow these letters to fall into the hands of any one except a Jesuit. In 1581 the publication of these annual letters began and continued until 1614. Then followed an interruption of thirty-five years. They were resumed in 1649 and continued until 1654, when they were finally discontinued. Thirdly, there were open letters, written expressly for the purpose of publication. Such were the *Jesuit Relations* from New France, begun in 1616 by Father Biard. They ceased appearing in 1673, when Pope Clement X forbade missionaries to publish any books or writings concerning their missions without the express and written consent of Propaganda. This prohibition was probably called forth by the heated controversy regarding the Chinese rites.

In 1894 the Burrows Brothers Company of Cleveland, Ohio, began the publication of the *Jesuit Relations* of North America, engaging the scholarly editorship of Reuben Gold Thwaites. They were accompanied by an English translation of the original Latin, French and Italian text, and ran into seventy-three volumes. Unfortunately only seven hundred and fifty sets of this edition were published. Of course they would hardly appeal to the general reader, for few would have the time or inclination to wade through such a mass of letters, however interesting they might be. For the historian they are invaluable. Parkman does not hesitate to say that they hold a high place as authentic and trustworthy documents. "It rarely happens," says Miss Kenton in her able foreword, "that the heroic story of a new country's colonization is written by adventurous scholars, 'from the midst of a forest,' or on the trail with aborigines, day by day, from its earliest beginnings over a period of more than one hundred and fifty years."

The first story of New France was penned by intellectual élites, men of extraordinary virtue and rare culture, from the most highly civilized country of Europe. They came from the land of a Louis XIII and XIV of France, with the luxurious court of Anne of Austria and Richelieu for leading spirits. How well fitted they were for their work a casual perusal of their

letters will reveal. The volume under consideration is an intelligent selection of these letters or *Relations*. They run over some one hundred and seventy-eight years, and are arranged in chronological order. The editor has done wisely to include in her book the learned Introduction of Professor Thwaites, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. In itself it is a rare contribution to historical lore. The book is divided into five parts. Thirty-eight documents are included in these selections, telling the story of the beginnings of the missionary labors in New France in 1611; the development of the Huron missions; an account of the Huron martyrs and Iroquois warfare, where we meet Jogues and his faithful Goupil, Brébeuf and Lalemant, Daniel and Garnier, Chabanel and Lalande; a vivid description of the western expansion of the missions under the intrepid Marquette follows; and we are finally told of the banishment of the Jesuits from the King's domain, when their missions were given up to the State.

It all reads like a romance. In these dramatic scenes, tragedy abounds. Blackrobes are heroes, redskins, protagonists. The thrilling story is told with the simplicity and dignity of an epic. "I do not undertake to write all that takes place in this country," says Le Jeune, "but only what concerns the Faith and religion." The writing was done as propaganda. New recruits were needed and ample funds required from the mother country. Both came. Gentle maidens and young women as Ursuline and Hospitalier Sister responded to the call, and New France received another St. Teresa in the person of Venerable Marie of the Incarnation.

So well has the editor done her work that these selections read like a continuous story. The value of the book is enhanced for scholars by its exhaustive index. There are eleven good illustrations, with Joliet's map of 1674. The wonder is that so much could be compressed within the compass of a single volume. We do not hesitate to say that it should be in the possession of every instructor in history. No library should be without it.

J. F. L.

Life of Mère Marie Eugénie Milleret de Brou, Foundress of the Assumption Nuns. By Alice Lady Lovat. Sands and Company. London and Edinburgh. Pp. xiii + 427.

We are pleased to see that her cloisered life has not stilled the gifted pen of the Dowager Lady Lovat. Since her entrance among the Visitandines of Harrow, England, she has made several substantial contributions to Catholic literature, not the least among them being the book under our consideration.

It sketches the life and portrays the soul of one of those many strong women whom God raised up to help His Church during the troublous days of the French Revolution. Born at Metz on August 25, 1817, and dying on March 10, 1898, Mlle. Milleret de Brou's long life covered a span rich in achievement for the Church. As foundress of the Assumption nuns, Mère Eugénie ranks with St. Madeleine Sophie Barat and Blessed Julie Billiart. As an educationist, Mgr. Dupanloup did not hesitate to say of her, "There is not another woman in France who understands education like Mère Eugénie de Jésus."

In her legislation for her religious daughters one is surprised at the heroic asceticism she requires. The Divine Office is their chief work. With it is combined all the austerities usually associated only with the contemplative Orders. Such was her high ideal of what the spiritual life of a religious teacher should be. And to this ideal her followers have adhered to the present day. Including the foundress herself, many of the first members of the Institute reached an eminent degree of sanctity, and were the recipients of not a few mystical favors usually conferred only on privileged souls.

While thus enriching the mystical life of the Church, Mère Eugénie stands before us as an educator also. Reared in an irreligious atmosphere herself, she knew from bitter experience the need of religious training for the formation of Catholic youth. She had the advantage of intimate intercourse with Lacordaire, Lamennais, Montalembert, and other prominent ecclesiastical personages. By them she was led into a serious study of philosophy and theology. This fired her with ambition to share her learning with other members of her sex that thus she might help to raise up that generation of valiant women the

influence of whose faith and learning the Church is even now benefiting by. As an educator her aim was "to further the kingdom of Christ in souls." She used no specific method, but worked along general lines, with the sole intention of forming strong Christian characters animated with self-sacrifice in the service of Church and country. She revealed truth as found in Catholic tradition. She built her educational structure on the natural virtues. Secular learning was only one of her instruments in the development of character. Thomistic philosophy she used as a means to cultivate the mind especially the reasoning powers, and to store the intellect with truth. Thus according to her mind was rounded out the ideal Catholic woman of the nineteenth century.

Not to education alone did the Assumption nuns devote themselves. Orphans were cared for, industrial schools established, schools for the poorer classes were conducted, and perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament carried on. So many and varied were the activities of these cultured, spiritual women that at the close of her life Mère Eugénie saw her work established in almost every country of Europe, and spread even to far-off Africa. A careful reading of this *Life* proves it of no small asset to the educational and devotional literature of the Church.

The book is well bound, the print is good, and the illustrations are excellent. A copious index adds to its value. J. F. L.

Die Christlichen Soziallehren, von Otto Schilling. Oratoriums-Verlag, Köln, München, Wien.

This booklet is volume XVI of a series entitled, "Der katholische Gedanke," '(Leading) Catholic Thought,' which is intended for the educated public, and proposes to set forth the teaching of the Church concerning vital questions of the day. The title, *Die christlichen Soziallehren,* might seem too general, since the learned author, who has contributed quite a number of monographs to the sociological literature of Germany, confines himself to the discussion of the sociological principles contained in the New Testament and the works of the great Catholic writers of old, including, however, St. Thomas Aquinas. The book bears some similiarity with Dr. John A Ryan's "Alleged

Socialism of the Church Fathers." It is, however, much more comprehensive, in fact it aims at completeness in representing dogmatic Catholic sociology. Dr. Ryan's discussion, which is a defense against one individual attack upon the doctrine of the Church, would make a chapter in Rev. O. Schilling's work. Yet in form *Die christlichen Soziallehren,* too, is a defense. Its immediate purpose is the correction of an influential non-Catholic work, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen,* by Ernest Troeltsch, as far as this author professes to expound the social attitude of the Catholic Church. But as this work pretends to cover the whole line of social teaching, O. Schilling's refutation must necessarily result in a positive exposition of the entire social system as expressed in the oldest authoritative Catholic writings. He answers two questions: first, Has Christianity its own sociological theory? second, How does this theory bear on family, society, and state?

As the subject is approached from the historical standpoint, *Die christlichen Soziallehren* deserves mention in an historical organ, as an important contribution to historical sociology.

If the learned author will kindly admit a transatlantic suggestion, it is that he cut many of his long sentences into two or several smaller ones. To refer to one little point, the more frequent use of the full stop will remedy much. Many of his extensive periods actually consist of two or more independent thoughts. If these were separated by "Punkte" instead of commas, the matter would become much more easily legible.

Otherwise the book, which has the ecclesiastical Imprimatur, deserves unqualified recommendation. It is such as one would expect to come from a scholar who has spent his whole life in Catholic sociological studies.

F. S. BETTEN, S.J.

Etienne Delcher évêque constitutionnel de la Haute-Loire. Par 1,' Abbé F. Barry. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1925.

Justin H. McCarthy in his brilliant though incomplete *History of the French Revolution* insists on the undying interest of the theme, and the capacity possessed by its heroes and

villains of provoking the most chauvinistic championship. The names of Danton and Robespierre, of Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI, of Talleyrand and Emery are never heard with indifference. The present study sketches a minor actor in the great drama, and one who would hardly be known at all to the world at large were it not for Abbé Barry's detailed and most interesting volume.

Etienne Delcher was the son of middle-class parents. He was born in the tiny hamlet of Douze, diocese of Saint-Flour, in December, 1732. A grand-uncle, an uncle and an elder brother had given their lives to the altar, and Etienne decided to follow their example. He was ordained priest in Advent, 1755. As minor canor of Saint-Juliene de Brioude, and later as pastor of Saint Pierre de Brioude he gained the reputation of a zealous, hard-working priest, eager to promote the interests of his people. So his life, like that of many another in those days, flowed on peacefully in its quiet and drab routine when the Revolution began in 1789. Delcher, although fifty-seven years of age, soon made himself remarked by his advocacy of the new ideas. He accepted the *Constitution Civile* of the clergy, and his pliancy on this point soon brought him a mitre from a grateful country. Elected by popular or at least electoral suffrage, constitutional bishop of Haute-Loire in February, 1791, he was consecrated at Notre Dame de Paris on April 3rd of the same year. Of course he was validly consecrated, but he had not been nominated by the Pope and never possessed canonical institution. He made his state entry into his episcopal city of Puy, May 7, 1791, when he met with a freezing reception. Nothing daunted, however, he at once set to work to try and organise the diocese into which he had intruded. Even for a legitimate prelate in full communion with Peter's successor, the task of rebuilding the material and moral ruins of the diocese would have been a most difficult one; for an intruder, who had entered the sheep-fold unduly, it was simply unsurmountable. Cynics jeered at Delcher, friends appealed to him, three martyr-priests, with one of whom Delcher was in close touch, laid down their lives for the Faith; but nothing could shake the obstinacy of this constitutional bishop, who affected to believe that his cause was the true

and worthy one. Time, however, effected what advisers could not bring about. Within a few years feeling the falseness and impossibility of his position he resigned his see, and retired to his own home, where he lived privately. Not long after he was haled before the Revolutionary Tribunals and asked to deliver up his testimonials of ordination. This act was considered equivalent to apostacy, and Delcher boldly refused to obey. He was thrown into prison, where he remained several months, and his health was permanently injured by the detention. He obtained his release in the beginning of 1795.

The following June Delcher took a new oath of "submission" to the laws of 'the Republic' " and was appointed constitutional curé of the splendid basilica of Saint-Julien de Brioude. Meanwhile the lawful bishop of the diocese, Mgr. de Galard, then living in exile in Switzerland, published for his people the Jubilee of Notre Dame de Puy. Delcher likewise published the Jubliee independently, and was excommunicated by Pius VI, by whom he had already been censured once or twice before. His life for the next few years was sad in the extreme, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he managed to support himself. The Concordat negotiated between Pius VII and Napoleon suppressed the diocese of Haute-Loire, and Delcher tendered his resignation to the First Consul, August 23, 1801. He submitted unreservedly to the Pope in 1802, and was absolved from whatever censures he had incurred. His closing years were peaceful. Become now legitimate Pastor of Saint-Julien de Brioude Delcher was beloved by his parishioners. Always a distinguished preacher the sermons of his declining years were stamped with the deepest marks of compassion, gentleness and pastoral solicitude. For the sake of good example he was invariably present at every church service but—perhaps as a mere memory of the past, perhaps as an assertation of his rank in the hierarchy—he always wore the dress of a bishop.

Abbé Barry's study is most interesting, written with that clarity and distinction that seem native and natural to the best French prose. He brings out well the startling opposition between the unquestionably priestly virtues of Delcher and the strange aberration that led him into schism, and made him

justify himself therein at the very time when hundreds of priests were facing death, and thousands exile and starvation rather than yield to the odious demands of a wicked and tyrannous government.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, PH.D.

History of the Latin-American Nations. By William Spence Robertson. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1925.

This large volume of more than six hundred pages is a veritable mine of information concerning Latin America. In his opening chapter Professor Robertson describes the country, its physical characteristics, its inhabitants, the cities they had built, the degree of civilization and culture they had attained, before Europeans had begun to discover, conquer and colonize. The second chapter photographs for us the European background to Spanish America. The life in old Spain is described, the system of land-tenure and property, the antagonistic classes and creeds, the religious and political ideals cherished among its people. Three succeeding chapters tell of the conquest of the New World, of the treatment accorded to the Indians, of the exploitation made of the country's natural resources, of the new regime and new ideals planted on a virgin soil. The author renders justice to the educative and humanitarian work of the Franciscan, Recollet and Jesuit orders. Archbishoprics and bishoprics were established, universities and colleges founded, printing presses set up, a local literature fostered and every city of any size a hospital and almshouse combined, or *Sancta Casa de Misericordia* was erected and maintained.

Napoleon's campaigns against Spain and Portugal sowed the first seeds of independence in Latin America. The royal government in the Iberian peninsula succumbed to the first connonade of Bonaparte's marshals; and the provisional juntas set up at Seville and elsewhere proved themselves unworthy of serious consideration. Very naturally the peoples of South America felt the longing to govern themselves, and work out their own destinies. Among the first to raise the banner of revolt was Hidalgo y Costilla, a priest of Mexico. (September, 1810.) The

movement was unsuccessful. Hildago was captured and shot July 30, 1811. But other leaders arose, and within a few years Mexico had broken away from the home country.

The city of Caracas produced a distinguished soldier in the person of Simon Bolivar, who in 1813 started Venezuela on its struggle for independence, and later had a large share in promoting the independence of Bolivia. Chile obtained its freedom in 1818 owing to the combined efforts of O'Higgins and San Martin; and the latter formally proclaimed the independence of Peru in July 1821. Brazil separated definitely from Portugal in 1823. It prospered for many years as an Empire under the reigns of Dom Pedro I and Dom Pedro II. In 1889 a Republic was proclaimed and the aged Emperor and his family went into exile. Professor Robertson describes in detail the varying fortunes of the South American states during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nor does he confine his attention to their very numerous political upheavals, or their industrial status, or economic evolution. Education, literature and art receive their due measure of consideration.

Several important and interesting maps are included in the volume; and what enhances the value of the work still more are the long lists of supplementary readings, both English and foreign, appended to each chapter.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, PH.D.

America's Story. By William H. J. Kennedy, Ph.D., and Sister Mary Joseph, Ph.D. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago; Benziger Brothers, 1926.

The title page states that this is "a history of the United States for the lower grades of the Catholic schools." As such it can be highly recommended. Nothing has been spared by authors and publishers to make the book all that could be desired in a text. Facts are simply and concisely related in elegant diction. The twenty-eight chapters omit nothing to foster love of Church and love of country without sacrificing truth. Thirty maps aid an intelligent reading of the matter. The illustrations are copious and unusual. At the end of each chapter suggestions

are given for additional topics and supplementary reading. The list of difficult words is helpful.

We note with satisfaction the opening chapter on our country and the old world. This gives the young student an idea of the European background whence issued the America of to-day. The publishers also furnish a Teachers' Manual which gives detailed suggestions for each chapter.

J. F. L.

An Outline of the History of Christian Literature. By George Leopold Hurst, B. D. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1926.

The first sentence on the jacket of the book asserts, "This work breaks 'new ground'." Hardly that, for Pierre De Labriolle published in 1920 his *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne;* and as far back as 1901 Duval published *La littérature syriaque,* and Mgr. Batifiol *La littérature grecque.* It is true that the present publication has much wider *cadres* than these. For it professes to cover in some 535 pages the whole field of Christian literature. The New Testament, the Apologists, the Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Reformers, the writers of recent times pass swiftly in those crowded pages, which oftentimes are hardly more than a catalogue of names; for instance, exactly eleven *lines* are devoted to Kant. It is hard to see under what rubric the Sage of Koenigsberg could find a place in a history of Christian literature. But grant him once an entrance there, he certainly cannot be dismissed in a few lines.

"This outline," says it author, "has been prepared to meet the need of "English speaking Protestants," and it shows throughout the limitations and defects of such one-sided vision. Barely one page is given to St. Thomas Aquinas; and that page contains a quotation from F. D. Maurice, a Protestant author who wrote in 1870. The saint has many more modern and more qualified exponents than Maurice but Mr. Hurst fails to indicate them. Less than half a page is given to Duns Scotus, and the only authority quoted is the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.* Here and there strange slips occur. For instance, on page 203

we read that "Bernard of Clairvaux . . . supported Innocent III." It was Innocent II that St. Bernard upheld. "Bernard," Mr. Hurst continues, "wrote his last work *Meditation* to win over the French Church to Innocent." Innocent died in 1143, while Bernard survived until 1153 and wrote considerably during that decade. The saint's last work, *De Consideratione*, was written for a former subject and monk of his own, who ascended the papal throne as Eugene III, and so it is correctly stated by Mr. Hurst himself on page 243. We presume the book there called by him *Meditations* is the *De Consideratione?* Again, on page 468 it is stated that Gregory XII condemned a work by Lamennais. Gregory XII reigned from 1406-1415 in the days of the Great Schism. The Pontiff, who condemned Lamennais, was of course Gregory XVI (1831-1846). This compendium would seem to be based entirely on second-hand writers, who possess no broad and reliable acquaintance with their subjects.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, PH.D.

Lanfranc. By A. J. MacDonald, M.A. Oxford University Press, 1926.

In the eleventh century monasteries rose by scores in the secluded valleys and lonely hills of Europe. Amongst them was the Abbey of Bec, which reared its spires and cloisters not far from Rouen. Its abbot, Herluin, was one day building a bake-house with his own hands, when a stranger from Italy applied for admission to the brotherhood. The neophyte was received gladly. Herluin could hardly have imagined that he had welcomed almost an angel unawares, or that in sober earnest a real genius had entered his convent. This traveler was Lanfranc, son of a nobleman at Pavia, where he was born about the year A. D. 1000. Compelled by untoward circumstances to leave his native land he had wandered through France studying, teaching, observing; had been robbed and left penniless by the roadside; had discovered Bec, and found it a hospitable home and safe refuge from danger. His first impulse was to bury himself for evermore in this retreat, and devote himself exclusively to the

salvation of his soul. But the monks were starving, and men in want of bread are impatient of harebrained idealism. Lanfranc was a scholar, who understood the science and technique of teaching; consequently he should employ his knowledge and gifts for the benefit of the community. Accordingly against his will he formed his classes. Perhaps the spirit of obedience brought its own blessing with it; perhaps the sense of home, security, sympathetic companions doubled his powers. From whatever cause Lanfranc surpassed himself, and taught as no one in Normandy had ever taught before. His fame spread all over France. Bec was thronged with eager students, and became in the eleventh century what St. Maur was in the eighteenth, or Solesmes in the nineteenth. Lanfranc numbered many distinguished men among his pupils, Pope Alexander II, Ives of Chartres, Guitmund of Aversa, St. Anselm. So his life glided on for some thirty years between Bec and Caen with an occasional journey to Rome, and he was not far from three score and ten when to his surprise he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1070. The post was an extremely difficult one just then owing to the recent conquest of England by the Normans, the unsettled state of the country, and the hatred felt by the Saxons for their oppressors. But the new archbishop's tact, moderation, powers of persuasion and talents for government soon won for him universal esteem. He uplifted his diocese materially and spiritually; he infused new life and ideal into its monasteries and religious foundations; he erected parishes and built churches, so that the needs of his scattered flock might be adequately attended to; and in the controversies that cropped up between the ruling powers, the bishops and himself he always showed himself full of a spirit of understanding and conciliation. His philanthrophy was really princely. Outside the north gate of Canterbury he built a home for poor men and women; near by he erected the hospital, church and school of St. Gregory; by the Western gate he constructed shelters for lepers and the church of St. Nicholas. In the outlying sections of his diocese similar almshouses were built and endowed by him, while the individual poor, who partook of his bounty, were beyond counting. At his consecration he took for his text, 'give

alms," and "all things are pure to you," and all through his episcopal career he fulfilled the admonition to the letter.

Nor was his influence confined to his own diocese. All over England and Wales, in Ireland, in Scotland and in France his prestige was recognised, and he has been called the "Patriarch of the West." Even after he had long passed four score years the prelate's keenness of vision and administrative activity were unabated. In 1087 he consecrated the bishop of Chichester, and the following year the bishop of Wells, nor did he hesitate to rebuke King William Rufus for a breach of his coronation oath. His last days were given entirely to devotion, and the end came on May 28, 1089, after an episcopate of nineteen years.

High as is the place which Lanfranc holds amongst the archbishops of Canterbury Mr. MacDonald's work is the first monograph to appear in English. He sets forth the facts of his hero's life with clearness, conscientiousness and sympathy. But he possesses few charms of style, and what may be called the colour and pageantry of the subject and epoch are missed. In these particulars Mr. MacDonald's book cannot stand a comparison with, for instance, Abbé Vancandard's splendid *Vie de S. Bernard*, or Dean Church's beautiful volume on St. Anselm.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, PH.D.

Augustin Cochin. Ses Lettres et sa Vie. Par Henri Cochin. Paris: Librarie Bloud et Gay, 1926. Two volumes.

Perhaps in no *genre* of literary expression has the French language so many models of almost unapproachable excellence as in that of familiar, every-day letters. The grace, the sprightliness, the spontaniety, the unaffected naturalness, which adorn the spoken word but so often escape the written and printed, are the outstanding qualities of Gallic correspondents—and perhaps occasionally a dash of the apparent artlessness which conceals the highest art is also present. Madame de Sevigné is of course an acknowledged classic, and her pen-pictures of court and chateau life are in their way as telling and vivid as those of Saint-Simon. About the same time Fenélon wrote the loveliest Letters of spiritual direction and advice to Madame de Montbéron. It

is of these letters that Miss E. K. Sanders, the Protestant biographer of Fenelon says, that if his reputation rested on these alone and no other production of his pen had been preserved they "would justify the admiration of his contemporaries and make his name immortal among religious teachers. Every rule for the life of faith may be found among those letters, and every incentive to lead a man or a woman to embrace that life." *(Fenelon, His Friends and His Enemies,* P. 371.) In more modern times Lacordaire's letters, particularly his *Lettres à des jeunes gens recueillies et publiées par l'abbé Henri Perreyve,* deserved and obtained a very great success. In these letters intended by their author for the eyes of his correspondents only, the great orator exhibits other qualities no less rare than the sublimest eloquence — tact, deep devotion, "sweet reasonableness," extraordinary spiritual insight. The copy before me, as I write, is the twelfth edition. Some twenty-five years ago the *Lettres du R. P. Didon à Mademoiselle Th. V.* had all the vogue of a "best seller." By 1903 they had reached their thirty-first edition, and there have been something like thirty new editions published since. Perhaps part of the success of Père Didon's letters is due to the vigour and downrightness of his appreciations and judgments—he calls a spade a spade, and has no hesitancy in stigmatising the *idola fori* or the *idola tribus* when the opportunity offers. It would be vain to pretend that the present letters possess the altogether exceptional qualities of the foregoing. But they prove abundantly that Augustin Cochin was an extremely cultured and intellectual man, with an incessant thirst for the things of the mind; he was a most religious man as well, eager to promote the Church's cause and foster every charitable and philanthropic endeavor. He had for his correspondents the most eminent Catholics, both clerical and lay, of his time. He writes to Lacordaire, Gratry, de Falloux, Mme. Craven, Mme. Ozannam, but especially to Montalembert and Mgr. Dupanloup. He seems to have been on particularly intimate terms with the bishop of Orleans, for he does not hesitate to give the prelate advice and information concerning the readaction of his pastorals and articles—see for instance, the letters of Aug. 17 and Sept. 6, 1859 (vol. I, p. 209), and Oct. 14, 1865 (vol. II, p. 81). He admired

Longfellow's poems, and published an article of warm appreciation in the *Correspondant*. The poet's brief note of thanks is printed in English in vol. II, p. 233. A few pages further on we read of his interviews with Père Hyacinthe, and the efforts he made to preserve that unfortunate man from revolting against the Church. The letters of the years 1870-1872 deal mainly with the conditions of France and Paris during and immediately after the Franco-Prussian war. Cochin died March 15, 1872, at the age of forty-eight. After he had received Extreme Unction he prayed: "may God take me to Himself with Lacordaire, Montalembert, Perreyve and Gratry." A little later, as his strength and consciousness ebbed, he was heard to murmur the dying words of the great St. Theresa: "Lord, it is full time for us to see each other." And without doubt God granted that wish, for Cochin's life was an uninterrupted striving towards the kingdom of Heaven.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, PH.D.

A History of the United States Since the Civil War. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. In five volumes. Volume I, 1865-1868; II, 1868-1872; III, 1872-1878; New York: MacMillan Company. 1917, 1922, 1926. Pp. xii + 579; xii + 649; xii + 529.

Dr. Oberholtzer's first volume appeared in 1917, two years before our *Review* began its career. Professor Dunning reviewed it sympathetically *(American Historical Review*, XXIII (April, 1918), pp. 676-678.) "There is something very unconventional and business-like in the manner of Dr. Oberholtzer's entrance upon this serious undertaking," observes Professor Dunning. "He gives us no preface—not even a 'foreword', no introduction, no bibliographical note, no brief synopsis, of his interpretation of history in general and of American history in particular, no acknowledgments of valuable aid from assorted librarians and specialists, no deprecatory suggestions aimed at possible reviewers. He does, indeed, present a table of contents; but promptly at the conclusion of that the first chapter of the history opens briskly and precisely 'On Sunday morning, April, 2, 1865'. Where the story is going to end is nowhere stated.

Probably the author does not know and does not care to guess. All that he feels reasonably sure of is that it will be five volumes long." This volume covered only three years, 1865-1868. In 1922 Dr. Oberholtzer's second volume, covering four years, 1868-1872, appeared and was reviewed by Mr. Edward Stanwood (*American Historical Review*, (January, 1923) Page 337-339). After regretting the fact that Professor Dunning's "witty mind and facile pen" were no longer available, Mr. Stanwood ventured that Professor Dunning's opinion of the value of the second volume would not have differed from his. Mr. Stanwood found many faults with Dr. Oberholtzer's work. The chapter on the corruption of the Grant period, "The End of the Orgy," declared Mr. Stanwood, is "an exhaustive collection of all the discreditable and scandalous conditions, movements, and tendencies that could be cited as of the four years under review, unrelieved by the faintest hint that the picture presented is not complete and accurate. A New Zealander, say, endeavoring to acquaint himself with American history, would not find in this chapter a single line to suggest that decency or honesty was not extinct in American public and business life." Dr. Oberholtzer, furthermore, "never sees more than one side of a controversy," he "asperses the motives of all on the other side, and does not refrain from vituperative epithets. It would be easy to quote scores of passages in which the leaders of the party in power at the time covered by this volume are assailed with slur or belittering innuendo." The "sensational one-sidedness of the author's attitude is shown, even more than in the text, if that were possible, in the page-headlines," and the authorities that are cited, presumably with accuracy, are "exclusively, such as support the views of the author as to the events, the men, and the political and social conditions he has undertaken to present to his readers."

Four years have passed by. The public and the historical world have had ample time and opportunity to peruse these volumes, and, therefore, it may reasonably be supposed, to have made up their minds with respect to their value. Whether or not Mr. Stanwood's presumption that Professor Dunning's opinion of the second volume would not have been different from his, as stated in the review, just noted, may by this time also have

been settled. Be that as it may, we shall with very excusable diffidence venture our opinion of the third installment of Dr. Oberholtzer's history.

The volume most recently published covers the years, 1872-1878. In its eight chapters he passes through the second term of Grant in the presidency into that of Hayes. At this rate Professor Oberholtzer is not likely to reach our years in five volumes, but we care not, provided he does not take his resolution so seriously as to stop with that number. We like his matter of fact manner, his stating the evidence and letting us for the most part assume the burden of drawing our own conclusions from it. His writing is of the years of his story. Men then did not spare their opponents either directly by excoriation or indirectly by innuendo. Greeley is well characterized as the principal representative in journalism of that mental attitude which had brought forth Brook Farm. With all his faults—and they are enumerated—he was well meaning in all his fundamental instincts. Grant passes from the pages after he walks arm in arm with Hayes into the Senate chamber for the inaugural proceedings. Hayes, satisfied that he had come by his high office as much by Republican intrigue as he had in spite of Democratic trickery, appears favorably, when we remember Grant, as a man determined at all costs, to effect reforms. Blaine and John Sherman are not admired. The mantles of Steward, Chase, and Sumner, who is "illustrous", fell upon a number of "rising men of whom Blaine and John Sherman were the most prominent examples, one so devoted to his own welfare and aggrandizement as to seem but a poor heir to eminence, both disposed to raise party above state, and too sparingly furnished with qualities to fit them to adorn the highest places in the annals of our public life" (III, 127).

The corruption of the second Grant term is painted, as it should be, in lurid colors, but a New Zealander would find that it was not the sum and substance of American life in the seventies. There is an excellent chapter on arts and letters. Keen observations occur now and then. Anent the Centennial Exposition: "As yet there were but few museums; the large department store with its vast display of wares was still undeveloped

and a temporary exposition of the productions of the country and of the world, gathered together in one place, had in it attractions for the people which it may never have again" (III, 187-188). The founding of the Associated Press and the development of the mechanism for producing newspapers "made journalism what it had never been before. . . . . Henceforth the daily press would be commercial and industrial. . . . The editors would be hired men, like those setting the type in the room overhead, who, on their side, however, would have this advantage—in that they, at the dictation of the labor union, might demand and receive an acceptable reward for their services, when this was denied the writers for the great sheet. The interests of the owners of the property would be allied, not with those who were concerned with any high public principle which it should enunciate, or the manner in which its judgments might be expressed—the most successful from a commercial standpoint, might, perhaps, have neither principles to serve not literary form—his sympathies would lie with the solicitors of advertisements from the keepers of department stores and other patrons, without whose support the gigantic business structure would fall to the ground" (III, 498-499).

Some criticisms may be ventured. Was not the rise of Cleveland quite as much a factor in the decline of Cincinnati as Chicago (p. 16)? Barely do we find references to any but New York newspapers in the footnotes. Events for which the papers of other cities would be important authorities are, for example, cited "San Francisco corr. New York Tribune," "Western corr. New York Tribune," Cincinnati Commercial, quoted in the New York Tribune," etc. Why should there be reference to a "German legend written high" in the seventies (p. 455) when higher education in the United States was promoted by men "full of the German scholar's zeal"? Awkward sentences occur, notably on pages 69, 126, 315, 353, 408. Is "scientificize" a good English word (p. 455)?

The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834. By Hosea Ballou Morse. Harvard University Press and Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1925. Four volumes. Pp. xxi + 315; viii + 451—viii-398—viii + 427.

After years of indirect trade to China the English East India Company secured permission from the Portuguese viceroy at Goa in India to make use of Macao, the Portuguese post off Canton and the only foreign settlement in the Celestial Empire. The authorities at Macao could not understand the unusual courtesy of their superior. They frustrated several English attempts to trade. The English, however, presently succeeded in making their indirect trade less indirect by establishing commercial relations with a pirate, the notorious Coxinga, who controlled Amoy on the mainland and the island of Formosa. About 1684 they secured lodgment at Canton, and in 1701 at Ningpo. Their dealings were on the whole profitable, in spite of the hostile machinations of the Portuguese and the vexatious exactions of the local Chinese authorities. Peaceful efforts to secure relief from the latter proved unavailing; indeed, ultimately led to attempts by the English to gain the ear of the Emperor. His majesty, however, could be reached only with difficulty. Even if he could have been reached, it is not likely that the English Company would have secured better conditions, because China, unlike England, was a decentralized state. The Emperor's interest in local affairs was very largely confined to the collection of revenues. Occasionally the English used force in order to gain their ends. Thus, in 1734 Commodore Anson stopped at Macao for provisions. These were refused by the Chinese authorities until he peremptorily demanded them, refused to leave the river until he had secured them. Such incidents, however, embittered the Chinese toward the Europeans. Two years later prospects became brighter. Kien-lung ascended the imperial throne in Peking. He was reported to be liberal in his views, and favorably inclined toward foreigners. He did not, however, know how matters stood in Canton, and the Cantonese authorities would not tell him the truth for fear that his regulations would reduce the profits which they derived from the foreign trade. Kien-lung, moreover, was embued with the usual sense of Chin-

ese superiority. He would take off some duties if the English merchants would accept his decrees on bended knees, and surrender the arms carried on their ships. The former condition the merchants would not consider. The latter condition was abated for a consideration. The Chinese trade, however, fell off. In 1755 Flint came out as consul and endeavored to get the merchant's case to the Emperor. Kien-lung did reduce the duties, but the governor of Canton imprisoned Flint for over two years. The Company could only petition for his release.

Troubles of other kinds overtook the Company. In 1784 a native was killed when the English fired a salute. The Chinese authorities seized the first Englishman they could lay hands on in order to enforce their demands for the delivery to them of the gunner who had killed the Chinaman. Their law demanded a life for a life. Thinking that the Chinese authorities would investigate the case, the English surrendered the gunner. The Chinese, however, promptly executed him. The Company was in the strange position of having delivered an English subject into the hands of a people whose law was very different from theirs, and who would interpret the act as an acknowledgment of Chinese superiority. The English, indeed, had become "tribute bearers." The war in Europe caused hostilities in the East. English ships engaged French ships in Chinese waters. Sailors, never easy to control, threw off all restraint in the eastern ports. Drink led them into brawls with the Chinese and with the mariners of enemy countries. Serious affairs resulted, for all of which the Company was held to account not only by the Chinese authorities but also by its own government. The English authorities also were importuned by private merchants in England and even in India for the privilege of trading to China. The English government, however, was slow to act. In 1788 it sent Colonel Cathcart to Peking, but he died before reaching China. Four years later the Earl of Macartney came out provided with a retinue designed to impress the Chinese with English puissance and with presents to hasten negotiations. Macartney reached the emporer, but the ships that brought him up the River Peiho to the Imperial City carried flags bearing the legend in Chinese, "Tribute bearer from the country of England." His instructions

need not detain us because we may infer the points which they covered from what we have already written, and because nothing came of the mission. Negotiations promptly ceased when Macartney refused to kow-tow to Kien-lung unless a Chinese official of rank equal to his kow-tow'ed to a picture of his Britannic Majesty, George III. Not until 1816 did the English Government again seek to establish diplomatic relations with Peking. The wars in Europe and the English war with the United States had multiplied the troubles of the Company in the Far East. Trade conditions with the Cantonese merchants had not improved. London, therefore, sent Lord Amherst to Peking. His mission also fell foul of the kow-tow and ended in failure. As Williams has declared *(History of China*, p. 107), there were left now only three possible courses for the English to pursue—:to submit to Chinese orders; to withdraw from China until the Chinese came to see the error of their ways; to use force. The second course was obviously double-edged, was quite out of the question for the commercial English. They, consequently, pursued the first course until conditions led them to adopt the third.

By the time the hostilities began the East India Company had been relieved of its monopoly in China. Mr. Morse's chronicle, therefore, ends in 1834—before the Opium War enters the pages of history. We may safely say that, short of the publication of the Company's records, his work is one of the most valuable that has appeared in the field of Far Eastern history. Mr. Morse's observations are always interesting as well as enlightening. He has for years been associated with the Chinese customs service and has brought out several books about the currency, the gilds, the trade, and the international relations of the Chinese Empire. His present work defies the reviewer. It covers all phases of two hundred years of English trade to China.

There is a clear explanation of the term "supercargo" which students will welcome because, notwithstanding, the fact that it belongs to the commercial vocabulary of generations long dead, it is more frequently used than defined by writers. ". . . the supercargo (supra cargo) was an important person on a ship trading to the Indies. The ship went exploring to new countries; there were no banks of exchange, and her owners had no corres-

pondents in foreign ports; they loaded on the ship what was required in goods or in money, to buy a cargo of the products of the foreign country; and, as they could not go in person, they must have a representative on board who was qualified to sell his 'stock', to exchange his money for the currency of the country, and to buy his 'investment' of such quality and at such prices that the commodities could be sold at profit on the ship's return to its home port. Besides this mercantile qualification, he must be capable of dealing with the Principalities and Powers of mundane rank; in one port the principal trader might be the king of the country—such a trader was the king of Tongking; in another he might be the admiral commanding the naval defences—as at Mindanao in 1686; or in another the general commanding the garrison—as at Amoy in 1864; in another the merchants with whom he must trade were only the commercial representatives of the highest officials—as at Canton in 1699—or one merchant might have the Imperial commission to monopolize the trade with foreign ships—as at Chusan, Amoy, and Canton in 1702-4. The supercargo must have diplomatic ability to deal with all such extraordinary situations, not simply the courage to resist extortionate demands, but the skill to conduct a trade notwithstanding that such demands were made" (I, 66).

Trade difficulties appear in every chapter; indeed, the chapters are as a rule but a record of the trade of a season or seasons. Supercargoes bought tea in the expectation that a certain number of ships would come to bear it away. For example, thirteen, possibly fourteen, ships were expected in 1782, but only four came. Much tea, consequently, remained on hand (II, 74 75) in China. Trying out Chinese likes and dislikes was another of the merchant's problems. Irish linens proved unacceptable to the Chinese market, but the hong merchants purchased them for their trade to Manila (II, 256). Not less peculiar was the Chinese attitude toward the coinage of Europe. They attached so much importance to the impression on the coin that their exchange value was affected. New Spanish dollars bearing the image and inscription of Ferdinand VIII, precisely similar to those of earlier coinage, passed at a discount among the Chinese because of the "lesser notoriety of the Impression". In 1908

dollars with the imprint of Charles IV, deposed in 1808, commanded a premium of 40% in the buying of tea in Anwhei (III, 161-162). Like the Japanese in later times the Chinese objected to the exportation of gold and silver. See the edict of 1809 on this subject (III, 127-129). The Company succeeded better than the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, and French had in curbing the use of its ships for the private ventures of their officers and crews, and of the officials in port. On the whole the Company was liberal with respect to this practice, though salaries and wages were always ridiculously low (I, 73). Pirates, and seamen whose joys were in wine, women, and song, Chinese mandarins, and hong merchants, coolies, and the dregs of Oriental society pass in and out of the pages. Chinese officials were unfailing in their expectations of presents. They would go so far as to delay and even to stop trade to enforce their demands. The Chinese merchants, who were particularly the victims of their predatory ways, declared in 1806 that tea "cannot be shipped under a charge of less than 4 or 5 Tales, altho' the real duty to the Emperor inclusive of every legalized expense does not exceed 1 Tale per pecul" (III, 39).

Opium came into the records of the English East Company trade to China in 1733, but only at rare intervals after 1733 do "we get any glimpse of the traffic in opium" (II, 153). In 1733, however, it was a "usual thing . . . for ships bound from Fort St. George, to carry opium with them for sale to China" (I, 215). In 1782 Warren Hastings and the Supreme Council in India, whence most of the British opium came, advised the Company's representative at Canton, "We think it necessary to observe that the *Nonsuch* will enter the river at China as an armed ship, and will not be reported as bearing a Cargo of Opium; that being a contraband Trake" (II, 77). The English were not so ignorant of the evils consequent upon the use of opium that they might regard the recital of the edict of 1799 (II, 344-346) as a serious over-statement. Nevertheless the traffic in Indian opium continued with few interruptions and little competition until American merchants began to import Turkish opium. The Select Committee at Canton in 1807 was plainly worried over this bit of Yankee enterprise, though it could find consolation in the infe-

riority of the Turkish product. Turkish opium was scarcely salable in China except as an adulterant of the Bengalese drug (III, 72-73). The efforts of the Imperial Government to stamp out this trade led to the establishment of depot ships, anchored at Lintin, off Canton. First mentioned in the record of 1831, these ships had for some years regularly received opium from inbound ships and held it until Chinese and other smugglers could spirit it to the mainland (IV, 269).

The British trade to China was considerably hampered by the difficulties connected with getting competent and honest interpreters (III, 131, 210). The Chinese authorities not only objected to Chinese instructing the foreigners in their language, but also made the lives of these natives miserable and uncertain. Even foreign interpreters were not secure as late as 1814 (III, 217-218). In early days the knowledge of the Catholic missionaries was not scorned by the Company (I, 163, 190). In 1809, however, the merchants secured the services of the first American Protestant missionary in China, Dr. Morrison. He wrote a Chinese grammar and compiled a Chinese dictionary while he served as the Company's interpreter for a salary of $2,000 a year (III, 71). So necessary were his services on one occasion that the merchants sent a boat to bring him to Canton from Macao whence he had gone to visit his family (III, 103). Dr. Morrison's enterprises were not always well-considered. Established at Macao, the Portuguese post, Dr. Morrison printed the *Evangelist*, a journal, the editorial tone of which proved objectionable to the Catholic hishop. On being notified by the Portuguese governor of the prelate's attitude, the English authorities instructed their secretary to inform Dr. Morrison" (IV, 346-347).

The relations of the company with Catholic clerics apparently were cordial. Two priests served the company as translators and interpreters before non-Catholic missionaries arrived. In return the Company gave them passage out of China in the days of persecution (I, 163, 190). The Jesuits deposited a sum of money with the Company in London for the purpose of assuring annual payments at Canton to their missionaries (I, 179). The English Company and French missionaries were on friendly

terms in China while their countries were at war in Europe (II, 399). In 1802 the Canton committee received a set of engravings of Babylonian inscriptions which British scholars had submitted to the Directors of the Company in England in the hope that Chinese scholars might be able to interpret them. Better informed of the state of Chinese scholarship than the savants of Europe, the Committee at Canton submitted the engravings to the French missionaries, one of whom, nine months later, reported that he had found "la resemblance entre un certain nombre des Characteres Chinois et Babyloniens . . ." (II, 398-399).

The student of European and American history will also find it profitable to mine these volumes. The Chinese and European background of the Boston Tea Party is framed in the smuggling activities of French, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish traders (I, 295-296). These unscrupulous enterpreneurs of the eighteenth century were succeeded by the American traders in the nineteenth. Three months after the arrival at Canton of the news of the signing of the Anglo-American treaty at Ghent a score or more of small Yankee craft rode in the harbor of Canton (III, 230). Ten years later American traders not only supplied the demands of their countrymen for tea, but also carried the commodity to the European continent, whence it was ultimately smuggled into England to the detriment of the Company's consignments. The American traders also afforded British manufacturers and merchants opportunities for breaking into the Company's monopoly of the China trade (IV, 105-106). The Company records of 1791 contain entries of ship seizures in the Nootka Sound region (II, 186), troubles that not only led the French revolutionists to reduce the King to impotence in their Constitution of 1791, and to the renunciation of the *pacte famile*, but also indicate the growing importance of North-West America in Asiatic trade, a factor in the opening of Japan some decades later. The lack of seamen in Revolutionary and Napoleonic times, that gave rise to the British policy of impressment about which we complained, led in the Far East to the employment of coolies as seamen in violation of the Chinese prohibition on emigration (II, 428).

We have indicated at random some opportunities for study in these volumes. Besides being, as we have already stated, a chronicle of the English East India Company's doings in China, the work contains valuable source material. Documents relating to the Cathcart (II, 151-171), Macartney (II, 213-254), and Amherst (III, 256-306) missions appear also a statement of proceedings in the matter of the American ship *Emily* (IV, 23-27) and the opium controversy of 1831 (IV, 278-323). The trade statements regularly appended to chapters are invaluable. Few omissions and errors have come to the notice of the reviewer. Dennett's *Americans in Eastern Asia* was probably published too late for Mr. Morse's use. Just a little anti-Spanish feeling comes to the surface in the statement that the "Hollanders and the whole world knew that the Netherlands had, by force of arms, conquered the right to trade where they wished, any Borgian grant to the contrary notwithstanding" (1, 4). Two awkward words "centuryish" and "mandarindom" and an involved if not misleading, sentence (IV, 155), proved annoying.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Mr. Secretary, Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth. By Conyers Read. Harvard University Press. Cambridge (Clarendon Press, Oxford). 1925. Three volumes. Pp. xi+ 443, 433, 505.

Professor Read, non-resident Professor of History in the University of Chicago, has produced a work which a reviewer in the *New York Times Book Review* (February, 28, 1926) says causes its writer to "rank with Froude, Motley, and their permanences of the Elizabethan period." We would that this reviewer had not been so particular about identifying these "permanences". By reason of Professor Read's painstaking efforts Froude and Motley have, we think, lost much, if not all that was left of their character as "permanences". We envy this reviewer, nevertheless, for the privilege of anticipating us in saying that "Mr. Conyers Read belongs to the growing group of American scholars who in their intensive concentration on a particular field of knowledge outspecialize the specialists of Europe". For years

Professor Read has labored on this biography of Elizabeth's great "Principal Secretary". The explanation Professor Read makes in his preface that because his "book has been a long time in the making", its style "despite many revisions probably still reveals stains of every variation of the soil which lies between the aspiring graduate student and the prosaic regions of middle life" (I, p. xi) is entirely superfluous. The most unreflecting of us, even if he but cut the leaves of the volumes, must conclude that he is laying open pages that have exacted from their writer weeks and months of toil. If he reads the pages he cannot escape the conviction that so tangled a story so clearly presented betrays masterful organizing ability. Every known source has been re-examined and innumerable sources, hitherto unused, have been searched. Not an important secondary work has escaped Professor Read's notice. Years only can measure the time this analytical work consumed. See his bibliographical note (II, 448-477) and his "acknowledgements" (III, 478). Years, again, only can measure the time it took to synthesize the material. We may take exception now and then to the repetition of certain expressions—Elizabeth's financial dealings are too often described as "cheese-paring". We may not, however, complain of a style or manner of organization that saves us from bewilderment in a labyrinth of detail by raising our minds above the maze, and there suspending them, as it were, in order to enable us always to see clearly how we are mastering its baffling deceits.

For nearly twenty years Walsingham stood high in the counsels of Elizabeth though not always well in her favor. Elizabeth was for many reasons a hard mistress to serve. Of these reasons the most fundamental was, so far as Welsingham was concerned, the fact that she more accurately than he reflected current tendencies. In the early sixteenth century religion had succumbed to nationalism; before that century had run its course religion was showing signs of succumbing to capitalism. Professor Read does not make these points; his conclusions, however, confirm them. Elizabeth's mind was primarily political, secondarily religious. "She never allowed her principles to stand in the way of practical expediency" (I, 47). Walsingham was a man of

strong religious principles. These principles, moreover, were not the ones that Elizabeth, at least, professed. Elizabeth, like most rulers of her time, believed in the principle of *cujus regio ejus religio*, "but she plainly intended to carry it into effect with as much attention as possible to the religious sentiments of her people. She insisted upon uniformity, but she tried to make her Church broad enough to satisfy the moderate elements in all parties. On points of dogma she yielded in many respects to the demands of the Protestants; on points of ritual she adhered pretty closely to the old forms. The Church of England, as she designed it, was essentially a Church of compromise" (II, 271). Walsingham's ardent Protestantism was of the non-conformist type. "There was little or no diversity of opinion upon that point among his contemporaries" (II, 259). That Elizabeth retained him so many years is as indicative of her statesmanship as it is of Walsingham's diplomatic ability. She instinctively feared Calvinism. She was of James VI's mind; monarchy and nonconformity agreed as well as God and the devil. Both monarchs realized that Calvinism was, in theory at least, less national than any of the other creeds. As Professor Read observes, Elizabeth complained that Walsingham was "more interested in the welfare of his fellow believers than he was in the welfare of England" (II, 259).

Walsingham's Calvinistic convictions explain the policies which he long urged on the queen. Calvinism was the principal obstacle to the success of the Catholic re-action, not only because it was militant, but also because it was universal in spirit. As a Calvinist Walsingham could conceive of a league of Protestant princes and could regard such a league as entirely practical. To Walsingham the great issue of the day lay between Catholicism and Protestantism. As Philip II was the great protagonist of the former, so ought his "reluctant mistress" be the leading protagonist of the latter (III, 72). Compromise he thought wholly out of the question. Sir Francis Drake and Walsingham could be, and were great friends. The great mariner's "devotion to the Secretary was as sincere as it was strong. It sprang from the conviction that Walsingham was not only his surest friend at court, but was also the greatest exponent among Elizabeth's

statesmen of his own fighting gospel. It was hardly too much to say that taken together they stand forth as the great protagonists of militant English Protestantism" (III, 232). Elizabeth's sending of Leicester to the Netherlands in 1885 was, therefore, a personal triumph for Walsingham; the defeat of the Armada three years later, a consummation of his life's efforts. Calvinism had bent a Tudor to its purposes as it was presently to break a Stuart. Philip II did not scribble an untruth on the margin of the letter he received aprising him of Walsingham's death and the sorrow there was in England over it: "There, yes! But it is good news here" (III, 448).

Catholics will have little reason to change their belief that Walsingham was their arch-enemy. The evidence which Professor Read has brought together shows that he was implacable in his enmity toward them. His concern was, however, less with Catholicism at home than with Catholicism abroad. To fight Catholicism abroad he needed to hold Catholicism in check at home. Elizabeth for reasons of her own was of the same opinion. Though Protestantism was the religion by law established, it "did not stand in England without powerful props supplied by the government. A large proportion of Englishmen, if not the actual majority, were Catholics, and it was never quite certain at what moment they might not (sic) rise in strength and demand the toleration for their faith which the laws refused. One of the gravest problems which faced Elizabeth's government was that of keeping the Catholics in check. Francis Walsingham made large contributions to its solution" (II, 258). He, more than anyone else, was responsible for the bringing of Mary Queen of Scotts to her death. Mary's "instinct did not betray her" when at the beginning of her trial she denounced her letter to Babington as a forgery which she feared was "Walsingham's work and declared that she had heard of former practices of his against her life. At that Walsingham rose to his feet. 'I call God to witness,' he said, 'that as a private man I have done nothing unbeseeming an honest man, nor, as I bear the place of a public man, have I done anything unworthy of my place. I confess that being very careful for the safety of the Queen and the realm I have curiously searched out all the practices against the

same' " (III, 53). Mary graciously accepted his avowal. Begging "him not to credit her slanderers any more ahan she credited his". Professor Read comments on the incident: "No doubt of all the persons gathered to try her, none had done so much to bring her to the bar of judgment as had Walsingham himself" (III, 53-54). Elizabeth, too, knew the inner Walsingham. When, at length, she signed Mary's death warrant, she gave it to her secretary, Davison, to bring it to the Lord Chancellor's for the sealing, and bade him on his way to stop at Walsingham's house —he was ill at the time—to aprise him of the news. " 'The grief thereof,' she added with a flash of wit, 'will go near to kill him outright' " (III, 63). Jesuits and "seminary priests" who ventured into England also felt Walsingham's heavy hand. Professor Read is inclined to spare Walsingham with respect to them. "It has always been and probably always will be disputed as to how much political significance is to be attached to this systematic invasion of England by Jesuits and seminary priests from abroad. The question here is not of the facts as they were but of the facts as Elizabeth and her Council saw them to be. In the first place these clergymen came from abroad. That was a point against them in the eyes of patriotic Englishmen then as now. In the second place they came, for the most part, from seminaries which drew support from Philip of Spain, the Duke of Guise, and the Pope of Rome, the Queen's chief enemies on the Continent. In the third place they recognized the Papal Supremacy and by inference the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*. Finally, they came, in open disobedience to English law, to preach Catholicism and to disseminate illegal and potentially traitorous doctrines among the Queen's subjects. These were the charges which the English government made against the invading priests, and on these grounds it always justified its religious persecution of them. Opinions will differ as to whether these grounds were sufficient in themselves to justify the action of the government. Possibly the Queen's councillors cherished some doubt upon the subject themselves. Whenever they could they tried to convict the priests of a more direct kind of treason. In some cases they succeeded. In some cases they did injustice this way. But they could always fall back on the general charge,

and it may be taken to be the real explanation of their attitude" (II, 279-280). Professor Read notes also the ease with which the Scotch preachers could be influenced by English agents at a time when the Guises were in the ascendancy in Scotland (II, 178, 191, 192).

The work abound in pithy sayings. We have time to mention but two. Henry IV, the first Bourbon, is described as "a shrewd and vigorous gentleman, with most of the virtues and many of the vices of his breed" (III, 94). Walsingham married twice, each time a widow. "He evidently preferred widows, possibly because widows are proverbially easier to court" (III, 422). The volumes are remarkably free from errors. The portrait of Lady Ursula Walsingham occurs not in the third volume as noted in the preface (I, p. x), but in the first, opposite page 258.

Studies in English Commerce and Exploration in the Reign of Elizabeth I. England and Turkey: The Rise of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations. By Albert Lindsay Rowland.

II. The English Search for a Northwest Passage in the Time of Queen Elizabeth. By George Born Manhart. Philadelphia Press of the University of Pennsylvania, 1924. Pp. xviii + 189; iv + 179.

These two doctoral dissertations, bound in one volume but separately indexed, were prepared under the exacting eye of Professor Cheyney. The master's direction is evident, though unacknowledged in prefaces by his disciples. In dedicating the volume to Professor Cheyney "with admiration and affection", they have chosen a better way of expressing their appreciation of his efforts. To these efforts the dissertations are good responses. Dr. Rowland went overseas for some of his material. Dr. Manhart relied on printed materials. We take it that Dr. Manhart's bibliographical observation "that books referred to only once or twice, unless of special importance, are not listed in the bibliography" applies also to Dr. Rowland's list, though he does not say "me too." Neither author has a very extensive bibliography. We would take them to task on this score but for the

good work which they have done in the body of their dissertations. Since their productions must continue together between the same covers, we shall express no preferences. Dr. Rowland gives us a more complete account than we have had of the efforts of England to establish trade relations in the Near East and to break the power of Spain by bringing the Turk into action. The fact that Henry VIII did not conclude a treaty with the Turk admits, however, of more extensive explanations appear in the introduction (p. xiv). Dr. Manhart sets in order our narratives of the efforts of Englishment to find an all-water route about North America to the Indies. Frobisher, Davis, and Waymouth figure largely in his pages, and a well-drawn chart shows the courses of the ships on their several voyages. The two dissertations are welcome additions to the series of studies in the commercial history of the Tudor period happily begun in 1912 by Gerson, Vaughn, and Deardorff, for whose volume Professor Cheyney wrote an introduction.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents. By James A. Williamson. New York: Oxford University Press. American Branch, 1926. Pp. v + 234.

Much has been written on the evolution of English colonial institutions on the North American continent, but little has been done to elucidate the development of similar institutions on the islands in the seas to the south of us. The neglect which the history of the English West Indies has suffered at the hands of the historians of English expansion both in England and in the United States seems all the stranger when we read the English *Calendar of State Papers: America and West Indies.* On every page of the volumes of this record of English effort in the New World mention is made of the West Indies. Tobacco was one of the early mainstays of these Caribbean colonies; consequently, Virginia and Maryland had to consider these colonies in the marketing of their staple. Under the Stuart's proprietary patents were issued for the planting and governing of these island colonies much in the same manner as had been done for the set-

tlement and administering of Maryland, the Carolinas, and other continental colonies. The relations between the proprietors and their colonists proved as unsatisfactory in the West Indies as on our seaboard. The Puritan disturbances in England left their traces in both groups of settlements. This history of the Caribbee Islands—the chain that extends from Trinidad to Porto Rico and includes such well-known places as Tobago, Grenada, Barbados, Martinique, Dominica, Guadeloupe, and St. Christopher—from the time of their permanent occupation in 1623 to the end of the Proprietary period in 1663—from the pen of so careful a worker as Mr. Williamson, is a noteworthy addition to our own historical literature as well as to that of the metropolitan country.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne. Translated from the Original French Edition of 1676, with a Biographical Sketch of the Author, Notes, Appendices, &c. By V. Ball. Second edition by William Crooke, late of the Indian Civil Service. New York. Oxford University Press; American Branch. 1925. Two volumes. Pp. xc + 335; xv + 399.

In 1889 Dr. Valentine Ball brought out an edition of Tavernier's *Travels in India*. His translation, based on the original French text, was not only carefully done, but also provided with notes based on intimate, first hand-study of the regions through which Tavernier had travelled. Since 1889 Indian studies have progressed. In order to bring the Tavernier *Travels* into line with this body of knowledge, Mr. William Crooke, late of the Indian Civil Service, undertook the preparation of the edition under review. He has made emendations of style in Dr. Ball's text, and, besides corrections, considerable additions to the notes. Our language may now lay claim to having the best and most scholarly edition of Tavernier's *Travels*.

Tavernier was raised to nobiliary rank by Louis XIV in consideration of the eminent services which by his travels he had rendered in France. His life spans the period in which French

over-seas interest revived. The voyages of the sixteenth century were not followed up because of the Hugenot wars. From 1560 to the reign of the first Bourbon, Frenchmen made no efforts to secure colonial empire except such as the Hugenots were prompted to put forth as war measures against the Spaniards, the allies of the Guises. Again under Henry IV (1589-1610) French colonial interests began. In this reign Tavernier was born. His father was a Huguenot refugee, a merchant of Antwerp, deeply interested in geography. An uncle and a brother were cartographers. Such an environment made the boy long to travel in far-off lands. Before he was twenty-two years old he had seen "the best parts" of Europe. In 1631 he set out for Persia. He made five other journeys to the East: 1638-1643 (?); 1644-1649 (?); 1651-1655; 1657-1662; and 1663-1668. In these journeys he traversed India from Afghanistan to Bengal and from the Himalayas to Madras. His third eastern venture extended to Batavia, the Dutch headquarters in the East. Tavernier's interests, however, were not centered in the spice trade of the Netherlanders. He was attracted by profits in the traffic in precious stones. He visited the diamond mines of Hindoostan and bought and sold gems in India, in Persia, and in Europe. This interest of his made him, wholly apart from his extensive travels, one of the most frequently mentioned and quoted men of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, his authority lessened. As an historian he was not to be trusted—he omitted important facts, was not always an eyewitness of events which he claims to have seen, and was anti-Dutch. His accuracy as a topographer was impugned—his statements did not check up with the results of later surveys. He was not skilled in the use of the Oriental languages. He was not by nature critical. He was not a trained observer. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, scholarly opinion began to regard Tavernier more favorably. It was remembered that the original manuscript of his *Travels* was lost; that his miserable handwriting must have puzzled his transcribers and compositors; that memory fails the best of men.

The English in India, making more accurate surveys, and penetrating more deeply into Indian archaeology, found Tav-

ernier helpful. He had traversed Northern India before the Moghuls razed the ancient temples, and he had with little exaggeration told what he had seen. He had painted a picture of life in India under the Moghuls; in fact, he was one of the few men travelling in the East who took posterity into his confidence. To quote the introduction: "With all its obvious limitations, the work of Tavernier is an important contribution of our knowledge of Moghul India. We must remember that he was not a scientifically trained observer who visited India with the intention of describing the country and its people. He observed it from the point of view of a merchant, and nothing engages his attention so much as a successful bargain. This devotion to trade interests enabled him to collect much valuable information on the conditions of commerce, the methods and tricks of the native banker, of the Schroff or money-changer He gives precise accounts of the production and sale of the standard commodities—spices, snake-stones, bezoar, musk, indigo, ivory, and the like—which are an important contribution to the history of Oriental commerce. Even more useful, because it was based on the knowledge of an expert, are his lucid descriptions of the varieties of precious stones and pearls" (I, pp. xxxv-xxxvi). The period of his record is also that of the early part of the "golden Age of Dutch enterprise in the East, 1640-1750" (I, p. xiv). His observations as a merchant in this period have proved invaluable notwithstanding his personal prejudices. In short, Tavernier is again respected, and for this reason a new edition of the record of his travels finds a ready welcome to our book shelves.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Four Centuries of Modern Iraq. By Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, M.A. Late scholar of Oriel College, Oxford; Administration Inspector, Government of Iraq. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, American Branch. 1925. Pp. xii + 378.

Among the lands which the Great War brought to the attention of many of us for the first time in our lives (notwithstanding the good marks we used to get in our geography lessons) is Iraq, with the Turkish provinces of Mosul, Bagdad, and Basrah in

their final form. With the coming of peace Iraq tended to fade away again, to become a mere memory. From this status in the penumbra of oblivion it has tried to rescue itself by issuing an elaborate set of postage stamps, each stamp rich in varieties, besides surcharging the pictorial issues of Turkey. Professor Longrigg has also prevented our forgetting Iraq, not, however, by a method so doubtful as that of philately. "Had there existed a reasonably adequate history of the country in modern times—from the early sixteenth to the close of the nineteenth century—the present writer (Professor Longrigg) would not have entered the field. As it is, nothing of the kind has been published in English, and in other European languages, but a single unsatisfying monograph; while the published—and, as far as has been ascertained, the manuscript — writings of Western Asia contain no work whose mere translation would fill the gap. The ancient and mediaeval records of the Iraq have long since and still receive from archaeologists and historians the care due to a very cradle of man's civilization, to a center of the earliest great Empires, to lands trodden by great captains of Greece and Rome, to the scene, for many generations, of the glories of 'Abbasid Islam'; but this ancient fame has singularly failed to attract a glance of curious sympathy at the subsequent vicissitudes and sufferings of the same country. The long age of poverty, confusion and neglect that followed the Mongol inroad has repelled the historians alike of Hammurabi and of Cyrus, of Seleucus and Kashrau and Harun. Darkness of varying depth falls over Iraq history from the hour when the light of the Khalifate was extinguished until the present century. From the conquest by Hulaku, indeed to the birth of Safawi Persia much that is relevant may be found recorded among the obscure histories of Mongol, Tartar, and Turkoman; into these the present historian has not entered. He has confined himself to the latest and least studied period" (pp. v, vi).

That the pages of this history are "so many and so often tedious", need not have elicited the explanations which the author offers us. To whom have we been able to turn in the past for information on the history of this region? We may not look for an Arabian Nights entertainment amid the ruins of Baghdad.

One of the appendices is an essay on the sources, oriental and European, of this history. Each item in the list is accompanied by comments. For some works the bibliographical data is incomplete, e. g., for Tavernier's Voyages the only edition listed is that of London, 1678 (see review of a new edition of Tavernier elsewhere in this issue of the *Review*). The Portuguese attempt to close the Persian Gulf in order to complete their Asiatic trade monopoly early in the sixteenth century must, it seems to us, have had a greater effect on Iraq than Professor Longrigg makes out.

The Naval History of the World War. The United States in the War, 1917-1919. By Thomas G. Frothingham. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926. Pp. xii + 310.

With this volume Captain Frothingham concludes his naval history of the Great War. What we have said in commendation or in criticism of the two earlier volumes holds in general also for this one see *Catholic Historical Review*, IV (Jan. 1925), pp. 592-593; V. (Oct. 1925), pp. 505-507. Captain Frothingham's knowledge of naval affairs few will question. In his second chapter, however, he deals with the diplomatic background of our entry into the war and his narrative becomes somewhat naive, smacks of the kind of writing that was done a few years ago. Exaggerated statements appear for several chapters; for example, "No nation in history ever faced such a task, and a miracle was accomplished when the peaceful United States was able to coördinate the functions of its military, naval, and industrial forces to gain its full strategic object, in the time thus set by a crisis and on the enormous scale of the World War" (p. 27). Lloyd George may have likened our coming into the conflict to an avalanche, and may have exclaimed that the world had never seen anything like it. But who accepts war-time statements by a hard-pressed minister on a matter of history? We may, of course, be censuring Captain Frothingham a trifle too much.

In his third chapter the author comes to naval history. He had already noted the terrific losses which British shipping had suffered from the unrestricted German submarine warfare inau-

gurated in 1917. The losses had been in "November, 1916, 311,508 tons; December, 1916, 355,139 tons; January, 1917, 368,521 tons. These were serious losses, but they did not actually threaten an overturn. But, after February 1, the totals of shipping destroyed mounted to these astounding figures: February, 1917, 540,006 tons; March, 1917, 593,841 tons; April, 1917, 881,027 tons" (p. 21). The German chart (opposite page 174) showing the shipsinkings of the twelve months beginning February, 1917, must, of course, be taken *cûm grano salis*. Omitting a close survey of the contents of the book—the American production of armed forces, the transportation of troops and supplies, naval co-operation—we are forced to the conclusion that Europeans who now declare that they won the war without our help have a thesis to prove, notwithstanding the fact that the naval assistance which we gave must "be considered in due proportion". Captain Frothingham also reads us a profitable lesson. In concluding his book, he says: "With the Armistice, ended the naval history of the World War. The demobilization of the forces and the many discussions of the aftermath of the war are outside the province of this book. But we must never forget that the final curtain had been rung down by the decisive victory, on a military field of battle, gained by a military force which had obtained its military superiority by means of Sea Power. This, in itself, is the whole sermon of the World War. Its military history and its naval history are closely interwoven. No naval history of the World War can be a true history, if it is only a log of natural events. More than has been the case in other wars, did the military events of the Warld War depend upon naval strategy. Its military strategy and its naval strategy must never be thought of as things apart. Only by looking at the doubly braided strands can the true fabric be seen, and throughout the whole pattern the record of Sea Power is written indelibly. Here is the lesson of this far written sermon, for us never to let slip from our minds—the proof of the might and compelling force of Sea Power" (pp. 275-176).

Our American Cardinals. By James J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D., Pp. xvii-352. New York and London: D. Appleton & Co., 1926.

The prolific pen of Dr. Walsh has added another volume to his already long list of literary productions. The book under consideration will appeal strongly to our readers. In his own gracious style the author tells us the life story of the seven members of the Sacred College of Cardinals who have graced the Church in America. He has an advantage over most historians, since it is his proud boast to have known personally the subjects of his pages. The seven sketches are thrilling tales graphically told. Every one of the Cardinals was what the world knows as self-made men. All at one time in their early career felt the pangs of poverty. All give evidence of that recognition of personal worth which is possible only in the United States and in the Church of Rome. To them is due in no small measure the development of Catholicism in this country from the post bellum days of civil strife to our present period of peace and plenty.

Probably no period of ecclesiastical history presents such a phenomenal growth of the Church in any country. Of course here as elsewhere the bark of Peter did not always sail in placid waters. But with such men at the helm, she has weathered the storms, for Christ was with her on the waters.

Dr. Walsh helps us to know better the gentle McCloskey, diplomatic Gibbons, intellectual O'Connell, gracious Farley, astute Doherty, efficient Mundelein, and charitable Hayes. With their knowing comes a personal love and a laudable pride toward these men whose names are woven into the very warp and woof of our history. In closing the book one feels grateful to the author for his luminous pages. He shows us men who

> "Measured world's pleasure
> World's ease as Saints might measure
> For hire
> Just love entire."

J. F. L.

Followers of St. Francis. Four plays of the Early Franciscan Legend. By Laurence Housman. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. Pp. xi + 60.

These four little dramas by Laurence Housman are well worthy of a place beside his former contributions to Franciscan literature. It seems quite fitting to have such productions this year when the Church is celebrating the seventh centenary of the death of St. Francis. To those familiar with Assisian legends these four plays need neither explanations nor analysis.

The first, the *Cure of Souls,* tells the story of the naive manner in which the *Poverello* gained from Pope Honorius III his famous Portiuncula Indulgence. The "Little Brothers" were poor in this world's goods, but they so abounded in the coin of heaven that the Sovereign Pontiff could call St. Francis a very dangerous man—to the devil.

Lovers Meeting pictures the visit made by St. Louis, king of France, to Brother Giles at Perugia. Both were servants of the same Lord, and though king and monk had never met before, they indulged in a long embrace as if a life-long friendship existed between them. Neither spoke a word, then after a long space, in an eloquent silence, they parted, St. Louis rejoining his regal retinue and Brother Giles returning to his cell and shoemending.

The Fool's Errand rehearses for us good Brother Juniper's vision of Brother Elias who was allowed to return from the nether world to ask prayers from him who was a veritable fool for Christ's sake. The proud, rebellious Franciscan has been humbled under the hand of the Omnipotent, and with his humility he has "become a different man—to the man he was!" "Brother Juniper, pray for me," was all he said. "But how he said it; oh, how he said it!" It is accents such as these that spurs the simple Brother Juniper to go to the Pope and tell him what he knew and ask him for what Father Francis promised to come true. The curtain falls on Brother Giles singing one of those little refrains which abounded so in the early middle ages, and which breathe only of love and pardon.

The Last Disciple is the most touchingly beautiful of the four productions. It depicts the closing hours of Brother Leo's life.

Old and feeble, he is dying as an outcast from his Order because "of a too faithful following of his master's teaching." In an old hut he lies, on a sack bed. Those of his confrères who are independent enough to visit him do so stealthily. But his brave spirit knows nought of earth during his closing hours. His soul finds vent in the rapturous accents of the *Canticle of the Sun*. To those of fine mental fibre, this play, so affecting in its pathos, will open up strains of beauty uncomprehensible to the grosser sort. All the fullness of Franciscan poetry has here a setting. The minstrel, the troubadour, the poet and the artist help in the story's telling. They show us Leo, the lover of Christ, conquering Christ by an imitation of Christ's own folly. 'Tis a story that never grows old though it teaches the world a lesson she has been learning for well nigh seven centuries now and has not mastered yet. It is the lesson of love human and divine, expressed in a simple life lived in charity toward all. We have heard it often. Scarce could we learn it better than from the four little plays before us. They could easily and profitably be reproduced during the scholastic year in the many "little theatres" of our numerous high schools and colleges. They give free scope to ingenuity and histrionic talent, and are not without high educational value.

J. F. L.

NOTICES

Just as we are going to press there comes to our desk a stately volume of some three hundred pages representing the Report of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference held in Floyd Knobs, Indiana, July 2-4, 1926. As in their previous meetings, the Friars did wisely in confining themselves this year to the discussion of one topic, which could thus be treated from all angles. They very appropriately selected the subject of ascetical theology for the meeting of this year when the world is commemorating the seven hundredth anniversary of the death of the Little Poor Man. The program was rich and quite exhaustive. Witness the titles: "Asceticism and Mysticism of St. Francis of Assisi," by the Rev. Antony Linneweber, O.F.M.; "The Spiritual Life According to Franciscan Masters," by the Rev. Edmund Krautkraemer, O.M.Cap.; "Mental Prayer After the Franciscan Masters," by the Rev. Richard Brunner, O.M.Cap.; "The Franciscan Retreat," by the Rev. Bede Hess, O.M.C.; "Outline for a Progressive Course in Ascetical Theology," by the Rev. Raphael M. Huber, O.M.C.; "The Director of Souls," by the Rev. Cyril Piontek, O.F.M.; "A Franciscan Ascetical Bibliography with Brief Biographical Sketches," by the Rev. Victor Mills, O.F.M.

The subjects are treated with that thoroughness and actuality which we have come to associate with the work of the Friars, and we agree with the opinion of the President of the Conference, the Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M., expressed on page 11, that the seven Reports published by the Conference represent a valuable collection of educational monographs, and that they will, if continued along the same lines, constitute eventually a veritable encyclopedia of Catholic pedagogy.

We note from the report of the Secretary, the Rev. Felix M. Kirsch, O.M.Cap., as given on pages 11ff., that the work of the Conference has been arousing the interest of educationists both within and without the Church. Evidence is presented to prove that the Friars are acting as a real leaven in the educational field. Among the Friars themselves the Conference has created, to quote from a communication of the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, "a delightfully splendid forum for higher scholarship." The Conference, no doubt, has stimulated much of the literary activity of the Friars recorded on pages 28ff.

We welcome the plans of the Friars to translate and publish a series of Franciscan ascetical books. The various papers read at the meeting demonstrated the need of such a library in English. Most of the spiritual classics of the Franciscans are available in Latin only. The Franciscan scholars of Quaracchi have indeed rendered a noble service by making many of these classics available in critical Latin texts. But the American Friars should now bestir themselves to make these classics more widely available by preparing good English translations. The world is hungry for Franciscan literature. Protestants have been busy with editing Franciscan texts in English. Hence the Friars deemed it advisable not to delay in the matter, but appointed a committee that would take in hand the preparation of the MSS. for a Franciscan ascetical library.

We commend to the attention of the members of other Religious Orders what is said on pages 21-22 on the work of bringing out in the Franciscan Friar what is characteristic of the genius and spirit of his Order:

> In taking up the Franciscan phase of ascetical theology, the Friars were not minded to extol Franciscan asceticism at the expense of the asceticism represented by any other Order or School. The Friars would never venture to assume, as the Chairman confessed in his opening address, that "there is an essential difference between Franciscan asceticism and the asceticism of any other Order or School. As all roads lead to Rome, so do all holy lives lead to God." Still it is well for every Order to bring out in its members what is characteristic of its own genius and spirit. In this way each Order may hope to contribute its part toward producing the spiritual garden of the Church which will be truly beautiful only insofar as it represents an "unitas in varietate." The garden of the Church should be varied in beauty but one in the spirit of Christ.
>
> This is what Pope Pius XI. may have had in mind when in his Apostolic Letter, *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, of March 19, 1924, addressed to the heads of the Religious Orders of men, he insisted:
>
> "Ac primum omnium religiosos viros cohortamur, ut suum quisque Conditorem Patremque legiferum in exemplum intueantur, si velint gratiarum, quae e sua ipsorum vocatione proficiscuntur, certo esse copioseque participes . . . Quare eo sodales, optimorum instai filiorum, curas cogitationesque convertant, ut Patris legiferi honorem tueantur, eius cum et praescriptis et monitis obsequendo, tum imbibendo spiritum; neque enim e statu suo decident usque dum Conditoris sui vestigiis institerint."
>
> The Benedictines of Europe have been pioneers in this movement to cultivate what may not inaptly be called Benedictine piety. They were encouraged in this movement by considerations such as are mentioned by one of their writers in his book, *Ideals of a Monastic Life* (p. 121):
>
> "Things have come to such a pass that many Benedictines have ended by letting themselves be taken into tow by modern Institutions whose origin and tendencies are quite unlike their own, losing sight of their past, and hindering the normal and natural development of their own spirituality by the indiscreet introduction of elements, good in themselves but designed for needs quite other than their own."

We have perhaps quoted too extensively from the Report, but there is so much of spiritual treasure stored within the covers of the publication that we practised much restraint in quoting only as much as we did. We venture to suggest to the management of the Franciscan Educational Conference that ways and means should be found to make *all* the publications of the organization as widely available as is the series of *Franciscan Studies* sponsored by the Friars and published by Joseph F. Wagner, Inc. (New York City). A limited number of copies are available for distribution from the Office of the Secretary, Capuchin College, Brookland, Washington, D. C.

Nature's Program. By Gaylord Johnson. (Nelson Doubleday, Inc., Garden City, New York), it as the author tells us only a supplement to *Nature's Library.* Although designed for use in conjunction with that elaborate six-volume series, it can well stand alone as an interesting introduction to the mysteries of Nature. It has thirty-one illustrations, several of which are good colored prints. By an intelligent use of this volume, an observant student of nature can not fail to learn much about birds and bees, flowers and trees, and all those myriads of wild, living things that people the mysterious world of nature.

With interest in physical science ever on the increase, and camp life the usual experience for a few weeks each year, of almost every boy and girl in our land, we are glad to welcome the book in question. It is crammed with information clad in an attractive garb. While giving us facts, it shows us Nature in all her loveliness. True "she speaks a various language," which all may understand in the varied moods of life. Healthy boys and girls, be they of city or country, can use the book with profit. Teachers will find in its pages inspiration to vitalize their class work in nature study. Even grown-ups will find it a companionable little volume during their strolls in open country or city park, from March, the month of the "waking moon," until the "hunger moon" of February. No price is given, but we are sure it is not prohibitive.

J. F. L.

The Grip-Fast History Books. Book V. By Susan Cunningham, M.A. (Cantab), (Longmans, Green & Co., London), is the fifth of a series of books by an author well known in historical circles. They are designed for use in Catholic schools. Like the preceding four volumes, this little book gives the story of British history in simple language, without sacrificing truth or style. It outlines the political and economic history of Great Britain from the beginning of the reign of James I to the present day. For the American Catholic therefore it is particularly interesting. The volume before us in the pupil's edition. A teacher's edition, we are told, may also be had. A colored frontispiece and thirty-three illustrations in black and white add to the attractiveness of the text. The questions, exercises and list of historical novels at the end of each chapter, add to its educational value. The book will make not only interesting but instructive reading. Young students, just beginning to experience the fascination of historical romance, will read it with relish, while their elders, who have not lost their love of lore and legend will put it down reluctantly. We regret the total absence of maps, which will surely be missed by inquiring American minds. Perhaps the nominal price of the book made it impossible to include them in such an edition.

J. F. L.

Vademecum Proposed to Religious Souls by a Pious Author. (John P. Daleiden Co., Chicago, Ill.)

One is not surprised to learn that this is the tenth edition of a book privileged to have for its "pious Author" none other than the Savior himself. It voices the longings, aspirations, and sentiments of a seraphic soul whom the

the whole Catholic world has come to know as Sister Benigna Consolata. In her foreword, M. S. Pine, the translator, tells us that "not only are priests and religious sanctified, but sinners are converted, wanderers brought back to the sacraments, and thousands of secular persons stimulated to nobler virtues by the pages of the Vademecum." The binding is substantial and the type is good.

J. F. L.

Four Decades of Catholicism in Texas. A Dissertation presented to the Catholic University of America by Sister Mary Angela Fitzmorris, A.M., of the Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antoino, Texas.

In about one hundred pages, the author shows us the religious conditions of the Catholic Church in Texas from the opening up of the territory to colonization in 1820 to the beginning of the Civil War. We are grateful to the Catholic University of America for giving to the public this worthy contribution to Church History. It reveals the doings of an era of trials and progress for the Church and state. It witnessed the secularization of the missions, and saw Texas placed under the guidance of a Vicar Apostolic. Finally it inaugurated the advent of those numerous religious communities whose silent, faithful service had been throughout our land the potent power for Church extension. If ever a text book on the history of the Church in the United States is written, it is such matter as is contained in this truly masterly thesis that will afford proper material.

J. F. L.

History of the Society of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart and the Mission Workers of the Sacrhd Heart (published by the Sacred Heart Monastery, Aurora, Ill.), is a brochure of forty-eight pages which tells the story of the conception, rise and development of one of those numerous religious Congregations which in recent times have labored so efficiently in spreading the Gospel in foreign lands. The founder, a native of Tours, France, began his work on the memorable date of 8 December, 1854. Since then the members of his Congregation, which consists of men and women, have houses in France, Germany, Australia, and the United States. Unusual success has attended their efforts to educate the young and minister to the wants of souls.

Hoi-Ah! Andy Carroll's First Year at Holy Cross, by Irving T. McDonald (Benziger Brothers. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago), is a story brimfull of American sport for American boys. The hero figures largely in football and baseball. His athletic achievements are great factors in the building up of a noble character. A strain of healthy, unostentatious piety is discernible here and there, but the author has skillfully concealed it under the ordinary happenings of college life. In his plot he gives us many a thrill and many a thought. The scenes are laid in the well-known New England College. The personages reveal characters little different from those met in every Catholic college throughout our land to-day. But our very familiarity with their hopes and fears endears Andy and his companions to us, and makes us expect great things for the Church and nation that can boast of such sons as they.

Saturated Civilization, by Sigmund Mendelsohn (The Macmillan Company, New York), should serve as profitable reading in a class of economics. The author does not think that our modern complex civilization yields a harvest of greater happiness than that enjoyed in past centuries. But his authorities quoted in the chapters dealing with the middle ages are not always first-class. Hence to the critical student some of the assertions are open to serious debate. However, though the author has not had recourse to first sources, a careful perusal of the book will be enlightening to the average reader. The chapter on labor reforms will be particularly interesting to all engaged in welfare work.

Acoma, the Sky City. A Study in Pueblo-Indian History and Civilization, by Mrs. William T. Sedgwick (Harvard University Press), indicates that the aborigenes of our country furnish rich material for acheological and ethnological research. The author has observed closely the characteristics of the Indian tribes of New Mexico and Nevada. She has given scientific study to the Sky City of Acoma, New Mexico, built "in the colored air," more than 6,500 feet above sea-level. She depicts the minute details of pueblo civilization so graphically that her story is interesting to even a casual reader. Legends, customs, and social organizations are carefully scrutinized. In striking contrast to the solicitude of the Church for the temporal and spiritual welfare of these people from the early missionary days of New Spain is the present attitude of American legislation. The United States has done much for the negro. But has equal interest been manifested in the Indian? Not by bread alone doth man live. The book is well printed, profusely illustrated and provided with a copious bibliography and index.

The Worship of Nature, by Sir James George Frazer, O.M., F.R.S., F.B.A. (The Macmillan Company, New York), contains the Gifford Lectures delivered by the author at the University of Edinburgh in the years 1924 and 1925, together with much additional matter which could not be compressed within the limits of twenty lectures.

The book is really an addition to the history of religions. It deals with the worship of the sky, earth, and sun among the ancient civilizations. The intellectual prestige of its author made us expect vast erudition, and we were not disappointed. Every page reveals scholarship wide and dep. In the remote past the human mind has been led into many a labyrinth of religious vagary. These Dr. Frazer deals with at length. Remnants of the story of the fall can be traced in the various cults of ancient Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania, and our own Americas. In this way man feebly tried to express his adoration of nature, little suspecting the existence of nature's God. He fell far short of the Infinite in his gropings after what was most beautiful in the finite. In turning over these pages on can not help wondering at the courage of those who, imbued from on high with a supernatural intrepidity, preached "the strange story of a crucified God," and became thereby the civilizers of Europe.

J. F. L.

The Commission of Historic Documents of the Province of Quebec has published an attractive volume, *Les Vieilles Eglises de la Province de Quebec*. The volume is really an appeal to French Canadians to put an end to *"la manie de détruire et l'amour de la nouveauté* which in the Ancient Province as elsewhere seems to have become an obsession.

Thirty-eight churches of the Province are treated in the volume. For each there is a brief historical account and illustrations showing exterior, interior, and important details of decoration. In the older buildings, dating back to the French régime in Canada, there is a rare interest from the standpoint of architecture and sculpture since their builders and decorators were untrained artisans who brought from France nothing but clear memories of similar work. The commission believes that they "were modest artisans who probably had never opened a manual." And yet they were able to produce some beautiful examples of structure and decoration.

The records of the old churches are taken from parish archives, letters and other sources. The illustrations are particularly interesting and are successful in setting out clearly many details of the old and later style of architecture and sculpture.

A reviewer in the *Catholic Times* says of *Joannes Scotus Erigena*, by Henry Bett, M.A. (Cambridge University Press):

The author desires to fill what he considers to be a gap in English philosophical literature. We suggest that his work would have had a more permanent value if, at least summarily, he had given us a clear exposition of the theological controversies of the day into which Erigena plunged with so much zeal in defence of the doctrines of the Church whose loyal son—and this cannot be too much insisted on—he, all through his life, believed himself to be. His writings on predestination and the Eucharist, directed respectively against the Saxon monk Gotteschalk and Paschasius Radbertus, were indeed unorthodox, and condemned as such by the Church at the Councils of Valencia, Langres, and Vercelli, but—and the author omits to point this out—his errors, grave though they undoubtedly were, were material rather than formal. Taking for granted, as he did, the authenticity of the works ascribed to Dionysius, he considered himself justified in adopting the doctrines he discovered in them, not suspecting for one moment that the Christian teachings in that loosely articulated system of thought were mingled inextricably with a subtle but profoundly anti-Christian pantheism.

It is misleading, then, to call this treatise on the brilliant but erratic philosopher "a study in mediaeval philosophy" when every student knows, or should know, that in his teachings Erigena was in clear contradiction with the entire Western Church and, therefore, with mediaeval tradition. Omitting the temporary vagaries of Wiclif, the Albigenses, the adherents of Pierre de Bruis, and perhaps Beregarius, who, however, died repentant in the pale of the Church, Erigena's views find nowhere any support. He describes the Eucharist as "typicam similitudinem spiritualis participationis Jesu, quam fideliter solo intellectu gustamus." After this quotation we are inclined to smile when we find the

author gravely wondering why the Church condemned Erigena's teaching in favor of the later Scholasticism as represented orthodoxy of pseudo-Dionysius; but it was ignorance and not malice that led him astray, and he strove all his life to reconcile these views with Aristotelian empiricism, Christian creationism, and theism; and in his own mind he was successful. This is his justification—he was no wilful heretic; this, too, is the explanation of the absence of any English philosophical exposition of his doctrine; the Church, putting aside the fact that Latin is her language, does not broadcast her children's errors, and, precisely because he was so absolutely her child in spite of his errors, heretics hesitate as a rule to claim him as their master. We do not think, then, that Mr. Bett's book fills a gap; and we think that if he tries to force Erigena between the massive tomes of St. Thomas he will pinch his fingers and, what is more, make himself ridiculous.

In *An Epic Scenario: Napoleon's Campaign and the Retreat from Moscow* (Harper, New York), Hilaire Belloc offers a vivid narrative of several dramatic episodes in Napoleon's Russian campaign. The story appeared originally as a series of articles for the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, in *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* discusses the true setting and significance of the social and economic facts which underlay the political movements of 150 years ago. He treats the subject under four general heads: "The Revolution and the Status of Persons"; "The Revolution and the Land"; "Industry and Commerce"; "Thought and Feeling."

Needless to state that the treatment of each topic in the hands of such a competent scholar as is Dr. Jameson is both graphic and instructive.

A contributor to the *Fortnightly Review* (June 16th) says of a recent Catholic work on anthropology:

> Those who are acquainted with Fr. Schmidt's and Fr. Koppers' volume "Völker und Kulturen" (Vol. I "Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft der Völker") know what a splendid contribution these two-priest-ethnologists have made to the science of man and will not be surprised to learn that the book has been favorably reviewed by the foremost authorities in the field of ethnology and anthropology. This volume is one of a series intended to treat the entire history and culture of man under the appropriate title, "Der Mensch aller Zeiten." The other chief contributors to this imposing series of volumes are the two well-known German priests and scholars—Hugo Obermaier and Ferdinand Birkner.
>
> Dr. Robert Lowie, editor of the *American Anthropologist*, an authority in ethnology, reviews the volume in Vol. 28, No. 1, of that journal, and concludes as follows: "While bound to express his doubts on a number of

points, the reviewer cannot close without giving vent to his profound admiration for the work reviewed. While the presentation of all data from the angle of a special theory diminishes its pedagogical utility, advanced students will be goaded by this very circumstance into a variety of special inquiries purporting to corroborate or refute the authors' contentions."

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Bible at the Reformation.—S. Leigh Hunt has contributed to the *Catholic Gazette* the following illuminating article on the Bible at the Reformation:

The progress of Protestantism is thus epitomised by the Vatican Council: "The divine magisterium of the Church being rejected, and religious matters abandoned to the private judgment of each individual, the heresies prescribed by the Tridentine Fathers gradually became dissolved into numerous sects, separated from and contending with one another, until at length not a few lost all faith in Christ. Even the Holy Bible itself, which had previously been declared the sole source and judge of Christian doctrine, began to be no longer accounted divine, and to be ranked among the fictions of mythology" (Dogmatic Constitution *de Fide Catholica*, introd.) First the Church is treated as a merely human, fallible institution, then the Bible becomes a merely human, fallible book; finally, Christ Himself is regarded as a merely human, fallible Person. *Facilis descensus Averni!*

It is not difficult to trace the modern Protestant attitude towards Holy Writ to its source. "To ascertain and judge about doctrine pertains to all and to every Christian," wrote Luther; "and in such a way that let him be anathema who injures their right by a single hair" (*Werke*, ed. Erlangen, xxviii, 39). "Thou urgest forward the slave, i.e., the Scriptures. . . . I leave this slave to you [Papists]" (*Comment. in Gal.*, iii, 10). "I care nothing for these. Do thou ever urge on the slave. I ask not concerning all the sayings of Scripture, even though thou bringest more against me" (*ibid.*). "I will have none of Moses with his law" (*Tischreden*, cclxxix). The Books of Kings are "a mere Jewish Calendar" (*ibid.* iv. 405). Job is simply "a drama in glorification of resignation" (*Werke*, lxiii, 25), "like the comedies of Terence" (*Tischreden*, iii, 130). "Ecclesiastes has neither boots nor spurs, but rides in socks, as I was wont to do when still in the cloister (*ibid.* lxii, 127-131). "The story of Jonas is more lying and more utterly absurd than any poet's fable. . . . The sequel, too, is so foolish" (*ibid.* iv, 418). "The predictions of the prophets often turned out wrong" (*Werke* viii, 23). Concerning II Machabees Luther declared: "I am so hostile to this book and to Esther, that I wish they had not remained extant, for they contain much heathen folly" (*ibid.* lxiii, 93-104; *Tischreden*, iv, 403.) The so-called *deutero-canonica* he relegated to an appendix in his version: according to the Preface, they were "not to be regarded as Scripture."

The Epistle to the Hebrews was not of apostolic origin, but "a made-up letter," consisting of fragments among which "there is wood, hay, and chaff" (*Werke*, lxiii, 153). "James' Epistle is nothing but a letter of straw" (*ibid.* 156; ed. Walch. xiv, 105; *Welches die rechten und edlisten Bücher des N. T. sind*, lxiii, 15), of doubtful authenticity, which flatly (*stracks*) contradicts St. Paul (*ibid.*). James was mad (*delirat*) with his crazy doctrine of works (*Opp. lat. exeg.*, v, 227, in Gen. xxii). "This James does nothing else but drive on to the Law. . . . I will not have him in my Bible" (Hermann, *M. Luther's Leben*, 97). "He did not consider the epistle to the Hebrews, nor that of St. James, to be of apostolic

origin. . . .Luther's opinion respecting the Apocalypse is remarkable. . . . 'I look upon the revelations [sic] of St. John as neither apostolic nor prophetic'" (M. Michelet, *Life*, tr. W. Hazlitt, 1846: IV, ii. 272, 273). "Many things are wanting in this book, which move me to hold it as neither apostolic nor prophetic. . . . My spirit cannot accommodate itself to this book" (*Vorrede zur Offenbarung St. Johannis*, lxiii, 169, sqq.). St. Peter's Second Epistle and the Second and Third of St. John receive similar treatment, while the Epistle of St. Jude is characterised as "as unnecessary missive" (*Werke*, lxiii, 158). It is not, perhaps, surprising that Luther has been hailed as the father of modern Rationalism. The results of his teaching soon became apparent; as he himself observed: "Since the fall of the papacy, with its excommunications and spiritual punishments, the people despise the Scriptures" (*Werke*, ed. Altenburg, tom. iii. p. 519, cited in J. M. V. Audin, *Hist. of the Life, Writings and Doctrines of Luther*, tr. W. B. Turnbull [1854], ii, 199).

Calvin was less drastic in his criticism of Scripture, yet he denied its inerrancy (as his notes on St. Matthew xxvii, 9; Acts vii, 16, etc., clearly show), and summarily rejected from the Canon Esther, Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Machabees. The idea expressed in Exod. xxv, 22; Num. vii, 89; IV Reg. xix, 15; Ps. lxxix, 2; Isa. xxxvii, 16, *et alibi*, he stigmatised as "a crass figment." In 1522 he collected as many copies as possible of Servetus' version, and caused them to be burnt at Geneva, doubtless because they contained other errors than his own. David Whitehead wrote to the French Reformer on 20th September, 1555: "It is no wonder that our Ceremonies appear redundant and even burdensome, to those persons [Frankfort Calvinists] who exclaim against the Public Reading of the Word of God, as an irksome and unprofitable Form" (E. Arber, *Troubles at Frankfort*, 1554-1558 [1908], 89). Richard Hooker condemns Calvinists who held similar views: "Intermingling of lessons with prayers is in their taste a thing as unsavoury, and as unseemly in their sight, as if the like should be done in suits and supplications before some mighty prince of the world" (*Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie*, 1592; V, xxxiv, 2).

The Written Word of God received little real respect from the Reformers. They quoted it, to be sure. "The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose" (*Merchant of Venice*, i, 3). They rendered it the homage of lip-service. "Osculo Filium hominis tradis?" (S. Luc. xxii, 48), asked the Incarnate Word. They charged the Church with belittling the Bible—then blamed her for believing it!

Johan Bale, Protestant Bishop of Ossory, in a *Declaracyon* prefixed to *The laboryouse Journey and Serche of Johan Leylande* (MDXLIX), states that "a great nombre of the whych purchased those superstycyous mansyons [i.e., monasteries], reserued of those lybrarye bokes, some to serue theyr iakes, some to scoure theyr candelstyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to the grossers and sope sellers, and some they sent ouer se to ye bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full. . . . I knowe a merchaunt man, whych shall at thys tyme be namelesse, that boughte the cotentes of two noble lybraryes for xl. shyllynges pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. Thys stuffe hath he occupyed in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these x yeares, & yet he hath store ynough for as many yeares to come." "Many prec-

ious Books were embezeled at the dissolution of Abbeys," says Thomas Fuller, ". . . many an antient manuscript Bible cut in pieces, what beautiful Bibles, rare Fathers, subtile School men, useful Historians, antient, middle, modern, what painfull Comments were here amongst them, what monuments of Mathematicks, all massacred together; seeing every book with a crosse was condemned for Popish; with circles for conjuring" (*Church-History*, 1665: iii, 334, 335).

"At the Reformation," writes William Blades, "so strong was the antagonism of the people generally to anything like the idolatry of the Romish Church [!] that they destroyed by thousands books, secular as well as sacred, if they contained but illuminated letters. They saw no difference between a romance and a psalter; between King Arthur and King David; and so the paper books with all their artistic ornaments went to the bakers to heat their ovens, and the parchment manuscripts, however beautifully illuminated, to the binders and boot makers" (*Enemies of Books* [1887], 1896, v, 47). This sad story of sacrilege and dishonour done to God's holy Word by those who posed as its special champions may conclude with a note by another Protestant writer concerning the version in common use among English-speaking Catholics: "The translation of the Bible into English . . . was begun on Catholic principles and in accordance with Romish teaching, and when finished the New Testament was issued from Rheims in quarto in 1582. Its appearance in England caused great excitement. . . . Spies brought to the rack many who were suspected of circulating the New Testament, whilst its possession was high treason" (F. S. Herne, *How the Bible Came to Us*, 1905; xv, 98, 99).

The Holy See and the League of Nations.—In its issue of July the *American Review of Reviews* says under this heading:

An article in the *Rivista d'Italia* for May presents clearly the position of the Holy See with regard to the League of Nations, holding that the charge made against the Vatican that it is inimical to the work of the League is wholly unjust.

It is pointed out by the writer that repeated statements have been made to the effect that the Holy See had hoped to secure a place in the League of Nations and that its disappointment was great at not having been included. The basis for this false, though general, belief, finds its roots, according to this writer, in the fact that the Holy See was disappointed and expressed its disappointment at not having been included as a member of The Hague Conference called by the Czar in 1899. The Hague Conference was an institution to which all powers had been called to coöperate on the same footing, and the Holy See might therefore have found an important place as a moral power. At Versailles, the position was quite different. The origins and workings of the League which grew out of the Versailles Covenant marks it not as a free pact concluded among all the States, but a primary and fundamental part of the Treaty directed to make sacrosanct the victory of the Western powers and to assure them of its fruits.

Although world peace is its ultimate aim, the Covenant in its present organization is not such as the Holy See, which during the war preserved the strictest

neutrality, could find any interest or convenience in entering. The entrance of the Holy See into the League would inevitably destroy this absolute neutrality, so long as League membership is limited to the Allied and associated powers, and only certain of the enemy and neutral States, upon condition that they in all things subscribe to the Peace Treaty concluded by the Western Powers.

A Great Catholic Leader. The *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis) says in a recent issue:

The Catholics of Germany have recently been celebrating the 150th anniversary of the birth of their great leader in the first half of the nineteenth century,—Johann Joseph von Görres. Born at Coblenz, in 1776, and educated under the influence of the new "philosophism," imported from France, Görres began life as a rationalist and, as he grew to manhood, hailed the French Revolution as a new dawn of freedom and progress for the world. In support of the new order of things he published *Das rote Blatt* and *Der Rübezahl*. But a visit to Paris in the year 1800 disillusioned him. At Heidelberg soon after he came in touch with a group of earnest young Catholics, and the results eventually was his conversion. After the failure of Napoleon's invasion of Russia, in 1812, he threw himself into the movement for the liberation of Germany, and his famous newspaper, *Der rheinische Merkur*, became the organ of the movement in western Germany. The paper was suppressed in 1816 because of its criticism of the Prussian régime; Görres was threatened with arrest and for a while took refuge in Switzerland.

The great work of his life was done during the twenty-six years from 1822 to 1848. He crowded into this quarter of a century activities sufficient for a lifetime. To this period belongs his professorship at Munich, the foundation of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, the publication of his "Athanasius" against the interference of the Prussian government with the freedom of the Church, and a series of learned works, among which the "Christliche Mystik" is probably the most famous, though by no means the most important.

In all he wrote Görres insisted on the necessity of the Catholic ideal and Catholic principles as the basis both of social and political action and the creation of Catholic public opinion and Catholic culture. He was thus the chief inspirer that has given Germany a splendid Catholic literature. His life work is continued by the Görres Association, founded in 1876, which still is a rallying point and centre of coöperation for the scholarship of Catholic Germany.

"The Baconian Tradition".—As preface to a critical appreciation of Dr. De Wulf's *History of Medieval Philosophy*, Dr. Richard Downey writes in the *Catholic Gazette* (Westminster):

In his charming brochure "St. Thomas as a Philosopher," Professor A. E. Taylor says very truly that Macaulay voiced the sentiment of his age when, in 1828, he wrote, "We extol Bacon and sneer at Aquinas." To-day, after the

lapse of nearly a hundred years, the tendency is rather to sneer at Bacon and extol Aquinas. Certainly the most considerable articles which have appeared in connection with the tercentenary of Bacon damn his learned lordship with faint praise. In the *Sunday Times* of April 4th Mr. Alfred Noyes showed conclusively that the "Father of Modern Science" was something of a charlatan, and that he had more than his fair share of that superstitious credulity which in Macaulay's day was regarded as the exclusive prerogative of the schoolmen. Though removed from the Dark Ages, and living in the enlightenment of the seventeenth century, Bacon tells us of a curious cure for warts, which reminds us of a still earlier prescription against "the vanities of the heade." In both cases the affected part is to be rubbed with a piece of fat. But that is not all. Bacon goes on to narrate how he observed that his warts obligingly disappeared *pari passu* with the fat, which had been hung up expressly for the purpose—the Method of Concomitant Variations before its time! And this is the man who chides Aristotle for spinning foolish theories out of his head. Again, the *Times Literary Supplement* of April 8th devotes nearly six columns to Bacon, not in connection with his "Advancement of Learning," but, mark you, "As A Historian." Even so, even in this *terra incognita* he stands discredited, for, we are told:

> "Bacon has embroidered the story of Perkin Warbeck to account for his success. . . . Bacon, too, invents Parliaments and concocts speeches made therein, one of them based on events subsequent to the Parliament. James Gairdner and Bush have between them compiled, since Spedding wrote, a heavy account of anachronism and fiction against Bacon, the latter concluding that we have earlier and better evidence for nearly all Bacon's facts and good reason to distrust the rest."

The truth is that Bacon's day is over. The more his works are examined the clearer does it become that in every department of learning he was bent on making facts fit theories, and that his brilliant reasoning is not infrequently based on insufficient evidence. His genius is beyond question, but so, too, are his fanciful aberrations. Now, more than any other man, Francis Bacon, the *arbiter elegantiarum* of Macaulay's day, is responsible for the contempt with which the schoolmen were regarded in this country until quite recent times. Yet it is doubtful if he had any first-hand knowledge of the great scholastics. He seems to have adopted, without investigation, the Humanist view of scholasticism as a crude and barren subtlety. One might almost say that in this matter he was content with the grotesqueries of Erasmus and Rabelais, and passed them on to the educated men of three generations.

But times have changed. Englishment no longer sneer at Aquinas. The twentieth century witnessed a remarkable series of Hibbert Lectures by an English Unitarian on "The Reactions between Dogma and Philosophy illustrated from the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas"; whilst in the popular Home University Library volume on the history of philosophy the work of Aquinas is praised in no grudging or stinted terms. Undoubtedly one of the men who have brought about this welcome change and helped to rid us of the Baconian fallacy is Mau-

rice De Wulf, Professor of Philosophy at Louvain and Harvard Universities and Member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, whose lucid expositions of scholasticism are now known and admired throughout the length and breadth of Europe and the continent of America.

"Hoist by His Own Petard."—Under this caption the *Catholic Register* of Toronto says:

On June 9th we received from Arturo M. Elias, Consul-General of Mexico at New York, a letter which was an elaborate attack on the character of Archbishop Caruana and a labored attempt to justify his expulsion from Mexico by the Bolshevik government in power in that unhappy land. We were requested to publish the letter as an answer to articles we had previously published exposing the persecution of the Catholic Church in Mexico. The letter was accompanied by what purported to be a photostat copy of the immigration declaration made by Archbishop Caruana when he went to Mexico in March as Apostolic Delegate, and of the answers alleged to have been given by the Archbishop to questions asked by the immigration officials who admitted him and by them recorded in Spanish.

We did not publish the Consul-General's letter, for we saw at a glance that the accompanying photostat was a clumsy invention concocted as a libel on a prince of the Catholic Church. The photostat document bore on its face its own refutation and its own exposure as a contemptable lie. In that document Archbishop Caruana was recorded as having told the immigration official who questioned him that he was "a Protestant." Of course no priest, bishop, archbishop or cardinal of the Catholic Church would have so preposterously described himself. The Mexican bolsheviks judged the Archbishop by their own despicable and wretched characters. But the net was spread in vain before our eyes by the cunning Consul-General and we refused to be caught. When renegades to the faith of their fathers persecute and rob the Church founded by God on earth to guide men to eternal salvation, conscience and its scruples are of small moment to such men. Men who crucify Christ and oppress His followers are not above forgery and falsehood. We knew we were right at the time in ignoring the artful agent of the Mexican Bolsheviki who misuses his office of Consul-General at New York to conduct an infamous propaganda against the Catholic Church. Events have justified our suspicion and corroborated our conviction that the documents submitted by the Consul-General were clumsily fabricated falsehoods.

We do not need the assurance of Archbishop Caruana that the papers are misleading and that he attempted no evasion of Mexican laws or gave false answers to questions asked in order to gain entry to Mexico. His exalted and sacred character is sufficient guarantee of his honor and truthfulness. The gentlemen in Mexico have been hoist by their own petard. Their ingeniousness was over-ingenious and exposed itself by its very cunning.

Archbishop Caruana has indignantly denied the charges circulated by Consul Elias. His denial is unnecessary. His office as Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop carries its own full and authentic refutation of the slander. But experts

in chirography have pronounced the photostat a spurious and forged paper. The barbarians now in power in Mexico should be made to answer to America for their attempted moral assassination of an eminent American citizen.

The reports of two handwriting experts of national note and whose testimony has been accepted in the highest courts of the country, declare that examination of the photostat copy of the entry sheet shows the document would have no value whatever in court; that it is not signed by Archbishop Caruana, and that certain words have very evidently been tampered with to change the replies represented as those of the archbishop.

Particularly, both experts, each working without the knowledge of the other, conclude that the Mexican word for "Catholic" has been written over or tampered with in such a manner as to make it apear to be the Mexican word for "Protestant."

The following are excerpts from the official report of A. S. Osborn, handwriting expert of New York City:

> I have considered the document in connection with the circular letter addressed "To the Editor" and signed by rubber stamp by "Arturo M. Elias," Consul-General of Mexico. It appears that this indistinct half-tone document is enclosed as documentary proof of the statements in this letter, but it is a document which, in my opinion, would not be received in any court as proof.
>
> (1) It is not signed by Monsignor Caruana.
>
> (2) It is not attested in any way.
>
> (3) It is admittedly in the handwriting of some other person than Monsignor Caruana who is charged with having made the statements contained therein.
>
> (4) It is written with a pencil and there is no means of determining when it was written.
>
> (5) The document, even in its indistinct form, shows that at least one erasure appears at a crucial point.
>
> (6) There is no signature indicating by whom the document was written.
>
> (7) It is impossible to say whether or not it was written on several different occasions.
>
> The printed circular letter, "To the Editor," clearly implies that these alleged answers on the document were written by a clerk. The printed letter contains these two statements, "He told the Mexican authorities he was a teacher," and "When asked the question, do you come as a tourist or on business, the declaration shows that he replied that he was going to Mexico just as a tourist." This language clearly indicates that this document, which purports to prove these statements, is a mere memorandum made by a clerk at an alleged interview. It could not be used in court or as "proof" excepting to confirm the oral testimony of the actual writer of the document, and even then, not being dated and signed, would but little, if in any way, enforce the oral statement of the actual writer . . . Certainly the document alone, without a statement or testimony

from anyone, does not prove anything and would not be accepted as proof anywhere and appears as a desperate effort to supply some excuse or explanation of an unwarranted action.

There has been an erasure or change of some kind where the word "Protestante" now appears, part of the printing of the word "en" below having been taken away, and there apparently are incomplete and double strokes at the beginning of this word."

Following are excerpts from the official report of S. C. Malone, handwriting expert of Baltimore, Md.:

Having made a very careful examination of the two examples of the genuine signature of "Geo. J. Caruana," as shown on a Passport issued to him by the State Department of the United States of America, and comparing the handwriting of the said signature with an alleged signature of the said Geo. J. Caruana, as shown on a document in the hands or possession of the Government of Mexico, a photostat of the letter having been duly furnished me along with the said Passport, I wish to report that my investigation of the two examples of handwriting above referred to, namely the genuine signature of the said Geo. J. Caruana, two examples of which are shown on the here-in-mentioned Passport, and the handwriting of the name Geo. J. Caruana on the Mexican Government photostatic copy of a document in its possession, leads me to conclude that the name Geo. J. Caruana on the Mexican Government's document is not in the handwriting of the said Geo. J. Caruana.

In addition to the striking dissimilarities in the alleged signature of the said Geo. J. Caruana in the general character of the handwriting, it will be readily seen by a due comparison of the genuine with the alleged, that the line quality of the handwriting of the alleged signature of the said Geo. J. Caruana, is very weak, while the line quality of the two examples of the genuine signature of the said Geo. J. Caruana, as affixed to the United States Government Passport, is strong and characteristic of a man of action.

There are, in addition to the very weak character of the alleged signature of the said Geo. J. Caruana, two places in the document of the Mexican Government that arouse suspicion. One is where the writing of a "C" has been written over an "S," and in another place where the word Catholic has been written over by the word Protestante.

To my mind, and in my opinion, this is a very suspicious phase of the Mexican Government's document submitted to me in the Mexican-Geo. J. Caruana case.

In my opinion the alleged signature of the said Geo. J. Caruana, as shown on the Mexican Government's document herein duly identified, is not in the handwriting of the said Geo. J. Caruana, a fact to my mind which justifies my decision to testify to the same in any court of justice.

In a letter accompanying his report, Mr. Osborn says in part:

> ". . . There is some evidence of erasure where the word "Protestante" appears, especially the beginning of that word. There has been an erasure at that point, this erasure having affected the printing of the word "en" which is immediately under the beginning of the word "Protestante," and the beginning of the word "Protestante" is an illegible character which may be a combination of two letters, one over the other."

Mr. Malone's reference to the letters "C" and "S" concerns the purported answer of the archbishop to the question as to whether he was married or single. The word "Soltiro" in Mexican means "Single," while the word "Casado" means "Married." In the document the mere first letter of the answer to this query was given. Thus the inference is that while the original sheet bore the letter "S" for "Single," by writing a "C" over the "S" it was made to appear that the archbishop, being asked as to his state, replied, "Married."

So much for Mr. Arturo M. Elias, Consul-General for Mexico. Ardent disseminator of anti-Catholic propaganda from his office at New York, he has himself been victimized by his superiors in Mexico and made to circulate against the character of an honored American citizen a document that chirographic experts declare would have no value whatever in a court of law. The biter has been badly bitten.

Predecessors of Labor Unions.—The New York *Times* (June 20) carried the following interesting contribution on the guilds of the Middle Ages:

The organization of workers into unions for their mutual protection is not, as is commonly supposed, a phenomenon peculiar to the twentieth century. Evidences of this type of organization can be found even among the ancient nations, while a very highly developed system of guilds in many respects analogous to the modern trade union movement existed throughout most of Western Europe during the Middle Ages, roughly from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

The guilds of the Middle Ages played a far more important part in the lives of its members than any workers' society of modern times. The guild was concerned not only with giving its members protection in their economic life but regulated and even dominated their social and religious life. In fact, the guild was the centre of every activity in which a man participated.

Although before the thirteenth century guilds were really nothing more than benefit societies for the relief of sickness, with the time they evolved into important corporations representing every branch of trade, with local headquarters in every town. In England there were some 30,000 such institutions by 1600, within which the workers were educated employed, protected in time of illness as well as when they worked.

One may judge of their importance from the fact that many of them were entitled to be represented at all great civic festivals. Moreover, a central council for every trade in the kingdom sat in London for the purpose of consultation by the King and his Chancellor. The King was in no small measure dependent

upon these representatives for that all-important necessity, taxes. This fact explains the tremendous political power which the guilds wielded in those days.

Many of the philanthropies during the Middle Ages were undertaken by the guilds. Not only did they maintain almshouses, but they erected many schools, loaned out funds to the needy on easy terms, served as insurance agents for their own members and performed many of the civic services which are to-day undertaken by the city or State.

The general purpose of the guilds, as of the present unions, was protection. The tradesmen found it necessary to protect themselves against cheaper labor in outside towns; against exportation of raw products essential for the home market; against unfair monopolies, cornering the market, over-supply and dishonest tradesmen. But their interest did not lie merely in obtaining the greatest monetary return. They were also greatly concerned with the quality of the merchandise produced, and set very high standards, which all workers had to maintain.

The question of hours and wages was by no means lacking in their controversies. A well-known French Socialist, Urbain Gohier, has pointed out that workmen to-day are ignorant of the fact that during the Middle Ages in many of the labor corporations and cities a work day was often not nine, but eight or seven hours. Nor are they acquainted with the fact that on Saturday and on the eve of more than two dozen holidays work ceased at 4 o'clock.

The high excellence of workmanship which has come down from those days is rather striking. Many of the cathedrals even in small towns, for instance, show the mark of expert craftsmen. Yet the fine ironwork was made by the village blacksmith, and the exquisite carving of wood and stone is the handiwork of the local carpenter and mason. This general excellence was due to the type of training given, which is the peculiar characteristic of the guild system.

It was practically compulsory for each boy to choose some trade. Once he decided what his inclination was, he was admitted as an apprentice by the local guild. If they considered his aptitude for the craft was sufficient, he was bound over to some master workman, who, in addition to teaching him thoroughly the profession he was entering, supplied him with bed and board.

A period of five years was considered about the length of time necessary to become competent at a trade. If he was considered capable at the expiration of his apprenticeship, he was accepted by the guild as a "journeyman" or worker of the lower rank. During the next three years he was expected to travel about the country to learn the various types of his craft and to perfect his skill. He might then apply for full membership in his own guild, and as a proof of his ability he had to submit some specimens of his work. Upon approval of this by the guild he was admitted to full membership, which entitled him to engage in his trade as an independent worker, and entitled him certain privileges and rights in the same guild of every other town and city.

Almost as important were the social and religious activities of the guilds. Every member was bound to help support a co-member who had fallen into poverty, been robbed, or for some reason had become incapacitated, provided only that such member was "bearing himself aright to the brethren." Provision was

also made toward the maintenance of needy relatives of a deceased member. Attendance of church was compulsory, many of the guilds having their own chapels, where they maintained their own chaplains to hold daily services for members and their families. Most of the social life centered about the church, as in very small and isolated communities existing to-day. The annual banquet, holiday celebrations and dances on the green—all these were festivals of the church.

An even more important function which did a great deal in fostering a spirit of friendship among the members of the various guilds was the mystery and morality plays, in which each guild was held responsible for certain portions of the performance. These dramas were very important events in those days, and the frequent rehearsals inevitably brought the members together.

The interest in the pageants was very great, since nearly every household had a representative in them. Each guild appointed its own theatrical managers to take care of stage properties, costumes and make-up. Many curious entries made by these men have come down, relating to expenditures, such as, "Elevenpence for mending of Pilate's wife's garments," or, "Sevenpence to Mrs. Grimsby for lending of her gear for Pilate's wife."

Important as were their social and religious activities, the main purpose of the guilds was the regulation of trade, the maintenance of high standards and their own economic protection. The similarity between these organizations and the present labor unions should not, however, be over-emphasized, because the differences are rather striking; whereas the trade union is composed of workers, the guild was a body of both masters and employees. The distinction between employer and employee developed at a much later date, when hand labor gave way to the factory system of production.

The noted historian, Froude, summarizes the duties of the guilds in this manner:

"It was their duty to see that no person undertook to supply articles which he was not educated to manufacture; to determine the prices at which such articles should be sold; above all, to take care that the common people really bought at shops and stalls what they thought they were buying; that cloth put up for sale was true cloth * * * that leather was sound and well tanned; wine pure; measures honest * * * to look to it generally that in all contracts between man and man for the supply of man's necessities what we call honesty of dealing should be truly and faithfully observed."

The Church in New Zealand.—New Zealand, one of the youngest countries in the Church, which was represented at the Eucharistic Congress at Chicago, nearly 9,000 miles away, by the oldest bishop in point of consecration in the world, Archbishop Redwood, of Wellington, consecrated 52 years ago, and by the Rt. Rev. James M. Liston, Co-adjutor Bishop of Auckland, is a land of flourishing Catholic faith.

There is a general belief that the first Mass was offered up in New Zealand by the Abbé Rochon, chaplain of the two French exploring vessels under the

command of Marion du Fresne, which visited this island in 1771. It was the published record of this voyage that led a young priest of the Lyons diocese to work for the salvation of the souls of the natives, the Maoris. This ardent missionary, Jean Baptiste Pompallier, made known his desire to Pope Gregory XVI., who consecrated him bishop and gave him charge of Western Oceania, that is to say, New Zealand and the many small islands scattered in the Pacific south of the equator.

The new bishop persuaded six priests of the newly-founded Society of Mary to accompany him. A stop was made on the way at the Island of Futuna, where the bishop left a priest and a lay brother. Within three years the priest was martyred for the faith and is now venerated on the altars as Blessed Peter Chanel. The natives of the island are now all Catholics.

Bishop Pompallier and his companions landed in New Zealand in 1838, knowing neither English nor Maori. But the great missionary overcame all difficulties and within fifteen years 25,000 natives, a quarter of the population, were counted as converts or catechumens. After the arrival of European settlers, wars arose, and the missions were ruined. All that could be done was done in a heroic manner by an Irish priest, Dr. McDonald, who for forty years lived in the bush and by the sea among the natives, far from the settlements of the white men.

In the eighties the Bishop of Auckland, Dr. Luck, O.S.B., brought the Mill Hill Fathers, Cardinal Vaughan's Society, to take care of the missions, and wonderful progress has been made. About 5,000 Maoris out of a total of 50,000 are now excellent Catholics, and the future is rich in promise.

Bishop Pompallier's efforts were entirely in behalf of the natives, for ninety years ago the white population was exceedingly small. But a few years later settlers began to arrive from England, Scotland and Ireland, and as time passed their numbers increased. The Bishop provided priests and nuns for his new flock, which was almost wholly Irish, and before his death in 1871 many churches and schools had been erected and two dioceses had been formed.

At the present time there are in New Zealand four dioceses, three hundred priests, a provincial seminary, sixteen hundred religious teaching in efficient and up-to-date schools and in charge of many charitable institutions, and a Catholic population of about 180,000 out of a total of 1,400,000.

Non-Catholic Tributes to the Eucharistic Congress. —Tributes to the Eucharistic Congress by non-Catholics were many and widespread. The Rev. G. Warfield Hobbs, editor of *The Spirit of the Missions*, of New York, addressing a Conference on Present Problems of Religious Journalism, in Washington said:

> I am proud of the fact that the papers of my city (New York) are giving complete, accurate and technical reports of that Congress.
>
> I believe the religious atmosphere of America will be more refined and sweeter for having seen this great event able to hold the front page of the papers of the country, despite the important issues now being considered here at the Capitol and the other outstanding news of the day.

Affirming that this Catholic event had been thus published by the country's press "because that great Church has brains enough to make the reporting of it possible," he declared: "I think it is about time the Protestant churches got enough brains to do the same thing."

Protestant ministers of Chicago were pleased over the mutual benefits the Eucharistic Congress brought to the people of Chicago and to the Catholic visitors. The Rev. Stephen A. Lloyd, pastor of the First Congregational church of Wilmette, summarized the characteristic attitude of his Protestant ministerial associates when he said:

> No matter how much Catholic and Protestant branches of the Christian Church may differ in expression of their beliefs, there is no real difference in the fundamentals of their common faith. Therefore, when either branch assembles to do honor to our common Lord, the heart of every true follower rejoices and the hand of every Christian is extended in welcome.

The Rev. Melbourne P. Boynton, pastor of the Woodlawn Baptist Church, offered this thought:

> The Congress will serve as an introduction for many thousands of Catholics to America and its institutions. They will see how prosperous all religions are here, because each is free to express itself in its own way and in its maximum zeal.

The Right Rev. Charles P. Anderson, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Chicago, declared that the Eucharistic Congress was one of the greatest religious spectacles ever staged in Chicago.

"Intelligent churchmen of all communities can see the possibilities for good in the Eucharistic Congress," declared Dr. Ralph W. Sockman of the Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church, New York, in a sermon on "Are Churches Becoming Broader?" in which he praised the growing spirit of tolerance within the denominations.

Dr. Sockman continued:

> It would seem that the period of acrid controversy is coming to a close. Only a few propagandists seeking publicity rather than spirituality are trying to keep the fires of dissension burning. It would be a great religious gesture if a united Protestantism could promote a Congress like that now being staged by the Roman Church at Chicago. As a spectacle to show the potency of religion, such demonstrations are profoundly impressive. To center the thought of men upon Christ in a striking way is a tonic to jaded spirits of materialistic America. We hope that the results of the Congress will be to call men back to the simplicity which was in Christ.

Newspaper comment was astonishingly sympathetic and appreciative of the true religious import of the Congress. Thus the New York *Sun* said editorially:

> The imaginations of American Protestants and Catholics alike cannot help being stirred by this conclave. Howsoever men may differ in creed, no man of good will can remain unimpressed by the presence of a vast assemblage of men and women and children of all ages and all social degrees

testifying in so striking a manner to the vitality of the faith which is in them. It is good for this age, so often called materialistic, that it be reminded from time to time that religion is a continuous, strong and abiding force. The Catholic must be moved to the depths of his being by this demonstration of the magnitude, power and splendor of his church; the Protestant will be gratified that this land, which tolerates no religious test, is privileged to receive from other lands so many distinguished Catholic guests and prove to them how generous an American welcome can be. . . . Vestments, uniforms, robes, historic habits of monastic orders, gold, silver, precious stones, choruses, litanies, incense, the marching songs of the church militant, should make this assemblage one of the most colorful American soil has ever known. But those who view it only as matchless pageantry will miss its real meaning. The pageantry is but an outward expression of religious devotion which has been unbroken through more than nineteen centuries of human history.

One of the finest tributes was that of the *Herald-Tribune* of New York. Under the title of "The Eucharistic Congress" that paper said:

> The International Eucharistic Congress has profoundly impressed the country. It has been accepted generally as another striking demonstration of the vitality of American religious sentiment. There can be no question of the depth of sincerity of the response made by American Catholics to the appeal of this great and imposing gathering. All other American religious groups have been moved to sympathetic admiration by the fervor of the religious spirit shown and by the unity of devotion to the ideas which lie behind the ceremonial. The public, which takes religion too much as a matter of course, has been not a little startled by the discovery that religion remains a factor in American life of major and not easily over-estimated importance.

Indeed the entire country, irrespective of creed, has found inspiration in the Congress. We doubt if any religious event ever stirred the secular press of the nation so universally and sincerely as did the Twenty-eighth Eucharistic Congress.

The Toronto Catholic *Reviles* says that it would be impossible to find space for an exhaustive survey of the editorial comment on the Congress. It takes "a few opinions at random." Thus the Trenton, N. J. *Times*:

> Chicago's tremendous outpouring of Catholics in acknowledgment of the permanence of the Love Feast over which Christ presided the night before His crucifixion, stirs human impulses to a sublime level and cannot fail to kindle anew the fires of spiritual life among the well-disposed of the whole nation.

"And whatever may be one's religious belief," says the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, "one can hardly fail to be impressed with the vitality of religion when it still has the power to bring together such a vast assemblage for purely religious purposes."

"When 170,000 women gather for one ceremony," observes the Fort Worth *Record-Telegram*, "it is something more than a news item. It is the largest

gathering of women recorded in history. It is good for us to have such colossal evidences of the spirit of worship of a Supreme Being. The ceremony is one of the outstanding events of this generation."

"One of the most remarkable religious demonstrations that Americans have ever witnessed, it has enlisted the particular interest of many who are not of the Catholic Faith," declares the *Providence Journal*.

"These Catholic conferences," says the Dayton *Daily News*, "are not without interest to Protestants or to non-Christians, nor can they be viewed by those who say they have no religion, without helpful effect, for even the non-believer must be helped when he sees how much religion does for those who do believe."

The Ashville *Citizen* citing the present-day conflict "between revealed religion and a newer form, which, in the last analysis, it seems, makes reason the judge of what supposed divine revelation shall be accepted," say that "the demonstrations attending the Congress serve to emphasize the contrast between the latter religion and that of which the Roman Catholic Church is one of the chief exponents."

"It argues well for the vitality of the Catholic Church in America," states the Cleveland, Ohio, *Plain Dealer*, "that such a convention as this is possible. . . . From this Congress as from a flowing well of inspiration will come influences to make the United States a better country in which to live. A leaven of Christian thought is carried by a million churchmen to all parts."

"An imposing and most impressive evidence of the advanced moral status of the world at the present time," said the editorial columns of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, "is the stupendous Eucharistic gathering now assembled in Chicago. . . . It is not strange that great Protestants ministers and great Protestant papers, both secular and religious, should be acclaiming and encouraging the mighty outpouring at Chicago. They realize that from it must proceed tremendously helpful spiritual influences tending to make this a better nation and people."

"No wonder," says the Baltimore *Sun*, "the most progressive nation in the world pauses for a few hours from its various tasks of commercialism and trade, from its politics and its pleasures, to view this amazing demonstration of vitality on the part of a religion that dates back nearly 2,000 years, that has, directly or indirectly, dominated ruling peoples of the earth during the greater part of that time, which has singularly influenced human history for century after century, and which may be said almost to have directed the course of events in many controlling fields of thought and action. Even those who do not believe in what the Catholic Church and this Eucharistic Congress stand for cannot deny that it is a religious phenomenon that challenges attention and which cannot be explained away."

The Catholic Central Verein of America.—Recently a correspondent wrote us some very commendatory words regarding the excellent contributions to the Catholic Press from "C. B. of C. V." with the request that we make a brief reference to the organization whence the contributions emanate.

The Catholic Central Verein of America is the oldest Catholic organization in the United States devoted primarily, if not exclusively, to the study and solution of moral and social problems. Its official organ, *Central Blatt and Social Justice* was the first Catholic journal in this country to undertake the cause of Catholic reconstruction. This splendidly edited periodical has just passed its eighteenth milestone and seems to have gathered strength and vigor with the passing years. Since its inception *Central Blatt and Social Justice* has consistently given the Catholic interpretation on all the vexed questions arising out of the modern industrial developments.

The origin of the Catholic Central Verein of North America *(Deutscher römisch-katholischer Centralverein von Nordamerika)* dates from 1854 when the presidents of three German Catholic benevolent societies of Buffalo, New York, issued a call to various German Catholic societies for the purpose of forming a central body. The movement was approved by the then Bishop of Buffalo, Dr. Timon. Seventeen societies responded to the call, and on April 15, 1855, the Central Verein was organized in St. Alphonsus Hall, Baltimore, Maryland. The chief aim of the organization was to defend the menaced rights of Catholics in the United States and also "to promote a vigorous religious activity in the united societies according to the spirit of the Church and mutually to aid and benefit one another."

In 1901 to meet changed conditions in the matter of representation, "Staatsverbände" succeeded the affiliation of local societies. This plan proved a success. The work of the Verein received at an early date the approbation of the Holy See to which it has ever manifested the greatest loyalty and dutiful relationship. With the passing years the sphere of usefulness of the organization was enlarged, one of its activities being centered in the establishment in New York of the Leo House for the care of Catholic immigrants. Its ambitus embraced later the furtherance of the cause of education, and the Teachers' Seminary at St. Francis, Wisconsin, was founded mainly by contributions from the Verein.

Addressing the delegates assembled at Dubuque, Iowa, in 1907, His Excellency, the Apostolic Delegate (Archbishop Falconio), said: "What your society has done in the interest of Christian education is truly admirable and an example worthy of imitation for all Catholics." The attitude of the Verein towards the Holy See and its occupants is best expressed in the following editorial *(Central Blatt)* June, 1926:

> The Holy Father's pleas were largely left unheeded by war-maddened and hate-blinded diplomats and warriors. After the armistice he sought to exert his influence in the interest of an enduring peace, urging above all the removal of hatred and prejudice as impediments to peace. So solicitious was he for the great cause of international conciliation that he did not confine his appeals to the Catholic world at large, nor on the other hand to the framers of international policies, but confided his hopes and the desire of his heart to groups of his children. And so it came about that, after addressing himself to the Bishops of Germany in 1919 he, in July of the same year, entrusted to the Central Verein the two-fold mis-

sion of relieving suffering among the victims of the war in the European countries and of laboring for a just peace. Primarily he desired that the endeavors be directed towards the combating of hatred and ill-will, the bringing about of better mutual understanding and conciliation, and the resumption of economic relations between the one-time warring nations, in the hope that these relations would result in the cultivation of friendliness.

This sacred trust, confided primarily to the Catholics of German descent in the United States, and through them to all American Catholics, yea to the whole of the American people as co-workers in this holy cause, was communicated to the Central Verein at its Chicago convention, held in August, 1919, by Archbishop, now Cardinal Mundelein. The appeal is so unequivocal and the mission so honorable that the salient parts of the letter of the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, in which it was conveyed, may fittingly be repeated here:

The world cannot possibly enjoy the blessed fruits of peace for any length of time unless that hatred be entirely blotted out and all the nations be brought together again in the sweet bonds of Christian brotherhood.

To bring this about the Catholics in a more particular manner must lend themselves, since they are already closely united in the mystical body of Jesus Christ, and should therefore constantly give others an example of Christian charity. And in accomplishing this result the work of the German Catholics in the United States, who, being united by the closest ties to both lately warring races, ought to be particularly successful.

Consequently, the Holy Father, to whose heart there is nothing dearer than the real conciliation of the nations, and who has already addressed Himself on this subject to the Bishops of Germany, now appeals to you in order that you too may co-operate in such a noble mission. Moreover, knowing the dreadful conditions under which our brethren in Germany are now living, the Sovereign Pontiff implores you most fervently to lend them every assistance, material as well as moral, and in the quickest and most effective way, especially facilitating the early resumption of commerce and all these benefits that naturally follow in its wake. To this invitation the Holy Father feels certain that not only you will gladly respond, but all the children of your generous country without any distinctions whatsoever, for surely they will be mindful of the great services their fellow citizens of German birth and decent have rendered their country during this war. In this way they will become real benefactors of the human race and draw down upon their own nation Almighty God's choicest blessings.

The latter part of this mission has been fulfilled. Our members have given lavishly of their means for the relief of suffering and the promotion of various Catholic works in the stricken countries. But the first part of the task assigned has been little more than discussed among us. The keynote of the Allentown convention was "The Peace of Christ," the selection of the motto implying the desire of the Central Verein to labor for the coming of peace. Far more specific were the lectures and discussions heard at the Central Bureau Study Course held in conjunction with that gathering, on which occasion the Rev. Doctors Engelen, Bruehl and Muench lectured on: Causes of International Unrest; Development of International Law and Movements for World Peace; Christian Solidarism and World Peace; and Respublica Dei, the Christian International.

A sincerely intentioned, well motivated and potentially effective beginning. Under other circumstances the Allentown Study Course should have been the impetus to an intelligent, fruitful movement among Catholics towards better international understanding and conciliation. In purpose and scope the course was an attempt to execute that important part of the commission entrusted to us by Benedict XV., sanctioned by the repetition of the demand of his successor, His Holiness Pope Pius XI., for the Pax Christi. Now the Central Verein proposes to take the next step towards performing a duty imposed by one Pope and implied in the expressed wishes of his successor. The Conference on Ideals of Peace, to be held in Springfield, Ill., on Saturday, June 26th, is to be this step.

The Springfield Conference was one of the most important gatherings in the history of Catholic organizations in the United States. A fitting characterization of it is provided by the editor of the *Wanderer*:

"The first two days of the 70th General Convention of the Central Verein, being completely under the influence of the World Congress and constituting, in a measure, a continuation of it, offered such a wealth of highly significant and important features that this gathering will forever remain a brilliant event of the first order in the history of our organization. Demonstrations like the one at the tomb of Lincoln, the conference on World Conciliation—the first Catholic Peace Meeting on American soil—the tremendous meeting of Sunday afternoon, these are events which, although they followed so closely upon the Chicago World Congress, yet will leave a deep impression upon the participants and must re-echo throughout the country and beyond its borders."

To this we add the following from the editorial column of the *Commonweal:*

This year's convention of the Central Verein, assembled in Springfield, Illinois, was honored both by the presence of the most important delegates to the Eucharistic Congress and by the adoption of an exceptionally timely resolution. Monsignor Seipel, renowned no less for his integrity as a man than for his acumen in rescuing Austria from financial catastrophe, urged the Verein to realize a heartfelt wish of Pope Benedict XV and begin a world-wide movement for universal peace. He said very frankly that aloofness from movements to establish amity between nations has been a grave mistake on the part of those whose active

religion is governed by the rule of charity. In adding as he did that the impetus to Catholic international action ought to come from the United States, Monsignor Seipel spoke as a man who realizes from practical experience how deeply rooted in circumstance is continental discord. His words were reinforced by a short and earnest tribute to the American spirit from Cardinal Faulhaber, whose appearance on the platform must have recalled the noble grandeur of his address at the last Munich "Catholic day," where he urged with words to which all of Germany listened the necessity for using the authority of Christ to render impossible the idea of a future European war catastrophe.

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